Daily Report

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Woerner Comments on NATO After Warsaw Pact

LD3103094591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by Gyorgy Bernath; place and date not given—recorded; Woerner speaks in German with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] Today is 31 March, the last day on the calendar for the Warsaw Pact military organization. It is a completely new situation that beginning tomorrow NATO will be the only military organization in Europe. Gyorgy Bernath has asked Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, whether this situation would leave a vacuum and whether it would lead perhaps to problems of balance.

[Woerner] No, I do not think so, I would not say a vacuum. An organization is going to break up that has been made obsolete by the events of Central and Eastern Europe—the Soviet Union relinquished its former satellite zone followed by the democratic revolutions of these countries, and now the Soviet troops are being withdrawn. I consider this a development that is very much in the interest of Europe's security.

Such a new, all-European security structure must take its place. We want to build it from many components and in such a way that all the states of Europe can find their role from the point of view of security policy. This, therefore, would be a Europe that is built on the mutual respect of security interests, which includes the Soviet Union too.

[Bernath] Yes, but this comprehensive security system has not yet evolved. How does NATO wish to react now to the changed situation? A traditional foe of NATO is disapperaing, if it has not disappeared yet, therefore it seems logical that NATO must reassess its own role.

[Woerner] First of all, we have no need for an enemy. We do not need a foe. We have always been only a defense alliance that wishes to guarantee security, peace, and freedom. This is not going to change. [these] remain a risk even after the cessation of a direct threat, and therefore our alliance will continue to exist.

Naturally we have to draw the conclusions from the situation and what is more we must do it in respect of two directions. One of these is that, as far as we can, we build a new security structure, institutionalize the European security and cooperation system; i.e. we will construct this all-European structure. The other is that we develop our relations with all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and I must add here that, from the point of view of security policy, we will conclude disarmament agreements of a binding nature that will reduce the probability of a threat, make the balance of Europe more secure, and make the armed forces more controllable. [end recording]

CEMA Abolition Documents To Be Signed 28 Jun

LD1805170291 Budapest MTI in English 1604 GMT 18 May 91

[Text] Moscow, May 18 (MTI)—The Comecon is to be terminated, Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar announced in Moscow on Saturday.

The decision was made at a two-day session of the permanent representatives of member states in Moscow.

The documents on the abolition of Comecon are to be signed by representatives of member states in Budapest on June 28, Kadar said.

The closing session of Comecon had originally been scheduled for February 1991, but it was then cancelled.

The issue of setting up a successor organization is not included in the agenda of the Budapest session. Expert talks on the forming of a new organization, probably of a regional character, replacing the Comecon are to be started after the session in Budapest.

At a press briefing after the ministerial meeting, not attended by the representatives of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam, Bela Kadar, chairman of the meeting said that all organizations of the Comecon would stop their activities 90 days after the signing of the protocol in Budapest. 90 days are necessary for the legislations of member states to annul regulations and agreements concerning the Comecon.

The member states are to form a 'liquidation committee' to solve financial and legal problems. There has been no decision made yet on the future of Comecon property. The Soviet Government is ready to take over Comecon real estates, Kadar said, but according to several European member states, an appropriation serving future economic co-operation would be more useful.

Participants of the Moscow session agreed that a future successor organization should promote the creation of market economy and the integration of former Comecon member states into European processes.

During his stay in Moscow, Bela Kadar also held talks with chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the Soviet Union Stepan Sitaryan on Hungarian-Soviet ties. The sides discussed possibilities of expanding Hungarian exports and the settling of Soviet debts. Kadar received a promise to the effect that the Soviet side will open new L/CS [letters of credit] next week. hungarian companies' exports to the Soviet Union have amounted to 165 million dollars so far in 1991. L/CS opened so far cover only 50 per cent of that.

European Security Meeting Participants Air Views

AU0705155991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 May 91 p 6

[Interviews with five security policy experts from Romania, Austria, the SFRY, the Soviet Union, and Hungary by Andras Desi; place and date not given: "All in the Same Boat"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] How is security in Central and Eastern Europe developing after the disbanding of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact? How have Eastern European changes and moves influenced pan-European security processes? Should former Warsaw Pact member-states be neutral, or should they come closer to NATO and the Western European Union? These were some of the questions on the agenda at the two-day Budapest conference held on 24-25 April, a conference organized jointly by the Hungarian Defense Ministry's Department for Security Policy and International Affairs and the Defense Research Institute. The former member-states of the Warsaw Pact were represented at the conference, as were security policy experts from Austria and the SFRY. We asked some of the participants to comment on the future security of our region.

[Elena Zamfirescu, from the political planning department of the Romanian Foreign Ministry] In this situation, following the disbanding of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact, I think that regional cooperation is of primary importance. Hungary is already a member of several regional cooperation schemes, and Romania recently signed a treaty concerning cooperation around the Black Sea. Admittedly, our treaty deal primarily with economic relations, but if we can cooperate in the field of economics, why should we not be able to cooperate on security policy issues as well? Individual regional cooperation groups cannot exist in isolation; these different groups definitely need to seek contacts and develop broader cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Colonel Norbert Hoher, from the Austrian Defense Ministry] My impression is that former Warsaw Pact member-states are panicking. Perhaps my expression is a little bit strong, but that is what comes closest to the truth. For decades, these countries lived with a "sense of security," and that security has disappeared overnight. That is why there is such great panic at the moment, that is why there is so much talk of NATO membership in Eastern Europe. I see no kind of external threat; however, I see certain dangers resulting from the difficult economic situation of the countries in this region. As soon as these countries attain higher economic levels, I think that some kind of an association treaty would be conceivable. I think that the interim period will be rather long. [passage omitted]

[Radovan Vukadinovic, from the faculty of international relations at the University of Zagreb] A new situation has developed in Europe, a situation of instability. In the past, the Warsaw Pact and NATO existed side by side, and they more or less balanced each other. The SFRY—as a nonaligned state—was not at all pleased about the existence of these military blocs. The SFRY was relieved by the disbanding of one military bloc, and it would be nice if there were no need for the other one either. One has to admit that at the moment, the West has stable political, economic, and—last, but not least—military institutions, whereas the East is facing general disintegration. The future definitely belongs to European integration, and this also applies to our security policy. [passage omitted]

[Mikhail Kozhokin, from the United States and Canada Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences] The situation following the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact can be seen and observed from several points of view in Moscow. First of all, there is the Central Committee of the CPSU, then there is the Russian legislature, and then there is our Institute (I am not boasting,) and we all have a different approach. For example, the CPSU would probably not accept it if former Warsaw Pact member-states were to become NATO members now—Russian leaders think much more along the lines of pan-European processes—nor would they accept it if Eastern European countries were to join a different military bloc. We are not just talking about sentiments here.... Scientific circles also believe that Eastern Europe should refrain from joining NATO. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo Toinai, from the Defense Research Institute of the Hungarian Defense Ministry] We organized this conference because we wanted to find out what our neighboring countries and former Warsaw Pact allies thought about the security issues that also preoccupy us too. As far as prospects are concerned, we seem to agree—in other words, we all see the future in terms of a pan-European cooperative security system. [passage omitted]

Budapest European Security Policy Talks Ends

LD2604132591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0032 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (TANJUG)—East European countries at the moment do not share a common view about the kind of system of security which East Europe needs, following the dissolution of the military organization—the Warsaw Treaty, it was assessed by the participants and observers at the two-day international scientific meeting, which ended its work in Budapest today.

Military and civilian experts on the problem of European security from six East European countries, Austria and Yugoslavia, discussed collective security in Eastern Europe, bilateral relations in this domain and the prospects for the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Views on the new system of security ranged from calls for bilateral agreements to joining with NATO, which was urged by representatives of Poland, and partly of Hungary.

The Soviet Union has no unique East European policy and currently is more preoccupied with the problems of its own survival, Soviet representatives pointed out.

The Yugoslav representative pointed out that in Europe so far there were countries which did not view their security in the form of joining either of the blocs and urged the forming of new organizations for collective security.

Carnogursky Positive on Cooperation With Serbia

AU2205085891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 May 91 p 1

[CTK report: "Attractive Cooperation"]

[Text] Belgrade—A meeting of the working group of Danube regions—into which the Czech republic, the Slovak republic, Croatia, and Romania were accepted as new members—began yesterday in Yugoslavia's capital Belgrade. The Slovak delegation is led by Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and the Czech Republic is represented by Deputy Prime Minister Antonin Baudys. In an interview with a CTK correspondent, the Slovak prime minister referred to the traditionally good relations with Yugoslavia—including Serbia—that we want to universally intensify. This was also one of the main reasons for linking both our republics to the regional project involving Danube countries. Cooperation with Serbia is particularly attractive to Slovakia on account of Serbia's electricity surplus and its advanced agriculture.

Danube Basin Ministers Meeting Ends in Belgrade

LD1705090491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—The Danube Basin region's prime ministers conference held in Belgrade, today unanimously adopted an appeal for the resolving of national and minority problems in countries of the Danube Basin "exclusively through peaceful and democratic methods."

The appeal, adopted at the initiative of Austria's upper and lower provinces, underscores that in this way, countries of the Danube Basin would make an "important contribution to the building of a new Europe."

The conference was also attended by the prime ministers and high officials of the German Province of Bavaria, four Austrian provinces, seven Hungarian district offices, Bohemia and Slovakia, the community of Romania's Danube Basin districts and the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Serbia. Bulgaria participated in observer capacity.

The next meeting of Danube Basin countries' prime ministers will be held in May 1992 in Munich.

A proposal presented by Serbia, on the forming of a special financial institution for the region's joint projects was upheld in principle.

Hunger Strike Begins in Durres District

AU2805154691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] As our correspondent reports, the economic situation in Durres District is also continuing to deteriorate. More than 35 enterprises have stopped work. According to information obtained from the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, the strike involves 10,700 working people, not including the Kavaje area, while according to the District Strike Committee, the number of strikers is about 30,000, also not including the Kavaje area. The strike committee at the port has issued a communique warning that on 29 May—i.e. tomorrow—they will suspend all freight movements, including the handling of grain, corn, and coke for the Steel Combine, which they will not unload unless the demands they have submitted are met.

Today, about 50 workers, mainly from the railroad engineering works, began a hunger strike in the [words indistinct]. There were requests by others to join this hunger strike, but they were not accepted by the Strike Committee. This decision to go on with the strike was made in support of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions and the demands it has placed before the government, and in solidarity with the Valias strike. The services of public order have called on these strikers to find another place for their hunger strike, but the Strike Committee did not agree to this.

More Strikes in Pogradec, Elbasan

AU2805154891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] A statement by the Independent Albanian Trade Unions points out among other things that reports reaching the Central Strike Committee state that hunger strikes have begun in various centers of work and production, including among a section of the work force at the (?glassworks) and the Verdove mine in Pogradec, and also involving representatives of different enterprises in Elbasan. Likewise, many Shkoder workers have begun a hunger strike at the Independent Albanian Trade Unions' headquarters. The communique states that strikes are a legitimate means of workers' protest used at a time of profound despair. The communique demands the fulfillment of the 17 demands submitted by the the Independent Albanian Trade Unions. Under such conditions, the declaration concludes, we see fit to once again call on the government to fulfill the demands of our working people.

Health Ministry Appeals For End to Hunger Strike

AU2805152891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 May 91

[Appeal by the Health Ministry issued in Tirana on 28 May]

[Text] The hunger strike of a group of representatives of the miners of Tirana District has now been continuing for 70 hours. In a communique of 26 May 1991, the Health Ministry, relying on the data supplied by the medical team that visited the strikers below ground, reported that their state of health was not good and that the hygienic and sanitary conditions in their mine gallery were not suitable because there are strong currents of air reaching a speed of eight meters per second; there is a high degree of humidity of more than 90 degrees, accompanied by high temperatures of more than (?29) degrees centigrade. There is a shortage of drinking water and no supply of medical assistance.

An examination conducted at 1800 on 26 May showed that the miners were faced with the additional problems of headaches, bodily weakness, insomnia, muscular pains, etc. The medical team gave all the necessary aid to all the striking miners, including baths, pain-killers, (?physiotherapeutic) treatment, and drinking water containing mineral salts.

On 27 May 1991, the medical team again went below ground. Their report showed that the striking miners' state of health had deteriorated. Under such circumstances, we considered it necessary to [words indistinct] express our concern. Information from the medical team that visited the miners on 28 May indicates that the miners' health is worse. All the strikers are seriously disoriented and dehydrated, with serious bodily weakness, muscle exhaustion, insomnia, stomach pains, extremely low blood pressure, headaches, hallucinations, (?limb) pains, etc. The medical team considered it necessary to treat them with the necessary medicines.

The Health Ministry is extremely worried about the state of health of the striking miners, because, if they continue their hunger strike in their present condition, serious medical complications will arise posing a permanent danger to their health and a risk to their lives.

The Health Ministry, with increased concern about this serious condition of the striking miners, and in a humanitarian spirit that respects the need to protect their health and lives, calls on the striking miners, the Hunger Strike Committee, the Union of Independent Trade Unions at the Valias mine and nationally, the Confederation of Free Miners Unions, the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Albania, the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, the press and the radio and television, the Ministry of Mining and Energy Resources, the government, all political parties and organizations, all social associations and organizations, and the strikers' families and colleagues, appealing to them [words indistinct] to emerge from their unsuitable and intolerable conditions below ground, and to continue their strike above ground. The miners' continued presence below ground is fraught with highly dangerous consequences for their health and lives.

(?This appeal) is not motivated by human feeling alone, but also by the need to rescue the miners from a

catastrophe that would have consequences not only for themselves, but for their families, their collectives, and the whole of society.

In the name of human kindness, we appeal to the hunger strikers to come out from below ground, and if they must continue their strike, to do so under normal conditions, in a suitable place, and under strict and continual medical care.

Bearing in mind the serious state of the striking miners' health, the Health Ministry has taken measures to hospitalize them all, offering them the specialized treatment they urgently need.

Out of this concern that is shared by the entire nation, we especially appeal to the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights, because the continuation of the underground strike is a most elementary violation of the human rights to work and life. We appeal to the entire people not to express solidarity with such an extreme sacrifice of health, but to help to save the health and lives of the striking miners.

The Health Ministry, 1200, 28 May 1991.

Council of Ministers on Depoliticization Bill

AU2905094091 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 29 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 29 (ATA)—In its meeting dated 25.5.1991, upon the proposal of the Ministry of Education, the Council of Ministers decided to create the "Luigj Gurakuqi" University of Shkodra based on the "Luigj Gurakuqi" higher pedagogical institute, and to create the Agricultural University of Tirana based on the Higher Agricultural Institute of Kamez. This decision enters into force immediately.

The Council of Ministers has also examined the draft-law "on the departisation and depoliticisation of some state organs", which was sent for approval to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania on May 28.

Taking into consideration the importance and pecularities of the military units and institutions of the Ministry of Defence and of the Ministry of Public Order, of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the diplomatic representations abroad, of the courts, prosecutor's office and office of investigation, this draft-law envisages the depoliticisation of these organs. Therefore, according to the draft-law, all their employees, the members of the Council of Ministers and the persons elected as deputies excluded, cannot be members of any party, political organisation or association and are prohibited to make propaganda or carry out activity in their favour.

Likewise, the draft-law foresees the prohibition of the activity of parties, political organisations and associations in some other state organs too,such as: the apparatusses of the People's Assembly, of the president of the Republic, of the Council of Ministers, in the ministries and other central institutions and in the executive committees of the people's councils. The employees of these organs may conduct party activity outside the working places only.

Assembly Decision on Constitution, Elections

AU2805173691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1645 GMT 28 May 91

[Decision of the Grand National Assembly on date of adopting the new constitution, self-dissolution, legislative and municipal elections, and referendum on the state system, read by Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, at the afternoon session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly—live]

[Text] Esteemed gentlemen: The recess proved long, but this was not a result of negligence but a consequence of the efforts made by representatives of all legislative forces. On the basis of the debates, which took place today, and on the consultations that took place, a draft decision was adopted, which I shall read now. Then we will vote on it.

Draft Decision:

On the basis of the opinion expressed by the legislative factions, and the debate at the National Assembly on 28 May 1991 in connection with the proposal of the legislative union of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the Grand National Assembly, based on Article 79, paragraph one of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, decided:

1. The discussion and adoption of the new draft constitution must continue so the final vote on it, through the personal signatures of the Assembly members, in accordance with Article 148, paragraph three of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, and Article 87, paragraphs two and three of the Code on the Grand National Assembly Work, must take place on Wednesday, 17 July 1991 in Veliko Turnovo.

2. a) On the basis of Article 78, paragraph three of the current Constitution, it is decided to hold a national referendum on Article One, paragraph one of the new draft constitution, on the form of the future state system.

b) The referendum must take place on the basis of the procedural norms of the Law on Referendums, published in 1983, and Decree No. 1791 on applying this law, applicable to the existing conditions.

3. It is proposed to the chairman (president) [previous word in brackets, as stated] of the Republic on the basis of Article 92, paragraph six, of the current Constitution, to set Saturday, 6 July 1991 as the date of the national referendum.

4. In accordance with the referendum's result, the Commission on Preparing the Draft Constitution must propose eventual changes in the draft constitution.

5. a) On the basis of Article 50, paragraph four of the temporary instructions related to the Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution, immediately after adopting the new constitution on 17 July 1991 the Grand National Assembly must adopt a decision on dissolving itself.

b) It is proposed to the chairman (president) [previous word in brackets, as stated] of the Republic on the basis of Article 92, paragraph two of the current Constitution, to set the date for simultaneous elections for the National Assembly and the organs of the municipal authorities in September 1991.

6. After the decision on its self-dissolution the Grand National Assembly will continue to implement its functions until the election of the regular National Assembly, by debating and adopting the most pressing laws related to the reform and the new constitution.

I hereby move to vote on the draft decision I just read. Please cast your votes. The decision is adopted by a majority of 198 against 29 and 37 abstaining votes.

Assembly Sets Date for Referendum on Monarchy

AU2805202091 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly decided today that the local and the general elections will be held in September.

After more than three hours of closed-doors consultations, it was decided that a referendum will be held on July 6 to decide whether Bulgaria will be a monarchy or a republic. On July 17 parliament must ultimately pass the new Constitution and dissolve itself. After that the Grand National Assembly will go on working as an ordinary one and will pass important legislation.

Parliament took its decision today after a number of consultations of the political forces and meetings between President Zhelyu Zhelev and the parliamentary groups. The motion for this decision, almost in the same form, was made by the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). According to well- informed sources, during the negotiations the Socialists tended to concessions. Almost to the end they insisted that the local elections precede the parliamentary ones and that the decision mention no specific dates for the elections.

Simultaneously with the concluding talks in parliament, a rally was being held close by it. It was organized by the radically- minded MP's of the SDS who boycotted parliament on May 14 demanding general elections in July. Despite the rain, more than 20,000 people took part in the rally. They chanted "elections" and cast insults at the MP's who were going out of parliament after the end of today's session.

Many observers believe that the parliamentary decision places in a complicated situation the two wings of the SDS. The moderates who remained in parliament, and the radicals, of whom one-third boycotted its sittings. The Coordinating Council of the SDS urged today the

moderates to walk out of parliament unless it votes a date for its self-dissolution. Today's parliamentary decision fulfilled the demands of the SDS leadership and the MP's who had remained in parliament called on the their colleagues to return.

The radicals, however, have not concealed their surprise at today's behavior of the parliamentary SDS, at the way in which parliament took the decision, and at the decision itself. Mr. Stoyan Ganev, one of the radical leaders, said on television this evening that what is important is not the form of government but who will rule this country. He still insists for immediate elections. He described today's decision of parliament as hasty.

The official view of the radicals of the Group 39 is not known yet; they will meet tomorrow.

Podkrepa's Trenchev on SDS Council Declaration

AU2905104591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Buglarian 22 May 91 p 3

[Recorded statement by Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, to Svetlomira Dimitrova, "on the National Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces" held in Sofia on 19 May; date and place of statement not given: "To Correct Our Mistakes, We Must Acknowledge Them"]

[Dimitrova] What do you think about the latest declaration by the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]?

[Trenchev] What was publicized at the SDS briefing on Monday 20 May largely reflects the decisions adopted at the SDS National Conference. It is more interesting to look at the preceding declaration—the one that was read at 0630 AM [on 20 May]. This version is radically different in spirit and runs counter to everything that took place the previous day at the conference. It asserts that the event was not a conference, but a consultative meeting. However, behind the platform there was a sign clearly showing that it was a conference.

The other thing that amazed me was that my own speech evoked different interpretations. I will do everything possible to publish it, so people can see the points raised in this notorious political speech. As for myself, I can make a few brief comments: The speech did not relate to any political party or organization in the SDS, nor did it refer to any individual belonging to an SDS party or organization. It lists a number of errors committed by the SDS. I believe that to correct our mistakes, we must first recognize them and admit they exist. The second part of the speech posed a number of questions, mainly asking whether we want to continue to make mistakes in the future; what our aspirations are; and how we are to achieve our goal, the goal that the people set us in the hope that we would achieve it. This part of the speech also made no mention of any party or organization. I do not know who introduced the term "blue party." The expression "nationwide movement" is also being used; I find this a very fine expression, but have not used it myself.

I am interested in the interpretations made by the individuals who signed the first SDS declaration that was read in the morning. They are simply very far from the truth. What Georgi Spasov said on the evening of 20 May also does not correspond to the truth.

I am glad that far more sensible decisions were adopted after the SDS Coordinating Council met with all members present, because it is stupid to argue about the decisions of people who had come from all over Bulgaria and carried the burden of the entire election campaign on their shoulders, in the name of our peoples' well-being. In my opinion, it is highly dishonorable for a handful of people—for I cannot accept that their view is shared by their organizations—can, at least unanimously, oppose the forest of hands raised in support of all the conference decisions. This could never happen in Podkrepa, because in our organization decisions from the bottom to the top are binding, whereas those taken from the top to the bottom are in the nature of recommendations. I recommend this principle to all organizations, both inside and outside the SDS.

Further on SDS' Position on New Elections

AU2705163391 Sofia BTA in English 1609 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—The opposition wants to take power in a legal and civilized way, through elections, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told journalists today. Mr. Dimitrov repeatedly stressed the stand of the opposition that without political power the SDS cannot carry out genuine reforms despite its good programme which was presented as early as last year's elections.

The opposition insists that everything concerning the elections should be made clear, including the date of the new elections which will be fixed by the president.

Mr. Dimitrov said that at the moment the SDS leaders are discussing the course to be taken by the SDS deputies who remained in parliament but, according to him, no consensus has been reached yet. This morning the leaders of the SDS parties and organizations held a closed meeting but no further details were disclosed. However, report has it that group 39 (the radical SDS MP's who insist that elections be held in July) will probably become larger these days.

In answer to a question the SDS leader said that the SDS is for a proportional presentation system but added that this is a secondary issue.

The key problem now is the problem of political power because all attempts to carry out reforms are being blocked at each level by the communist structures.

Mr. Dimitrov said that the opposition (the SDS, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms) is expected to unite.

Kostov: Second Stage of Price Reform To Begin

AU2805133091 Sofia BTA in English 1138 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Kostov, Bulgaria's minister of finance, told journalists today that some of the prices still controlled by the government will be liberalized soon. Among them are fuel prices, which will inevitably influence the prices of other goods. Mr. Kostov said that petrol prices will be pegged to the exchange rate of the lev and to oil prices. Fuel prices will vary with the fluctuations in oil prices. Mr. Kostov warned that the second stage in the liberalization of prices will give a fresh impetus to inflation, which, the minister said, we should try to counter. The interests rates will probably have to be raised. Mr. Kostov hopes to contain the exchange rate of the Bulgarian lev between 15 and 17 leva per U.S. dollar by strengthening Bulgaria's foreign exchange reserves with the first tranche from the World Bank.

Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy prime minister, said that at its meeting tomorrow the tripartite committee on the harmonization of interests will discuss the problem of fuel prices decontrol and the extension of the agreement on social peace to the second stage of the economic reform.

Kostov Threatens To Resign Over Budget Issue

AU2805202291 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—After a stormy two-day meeting of the Council of Ministers, this evening it approved the update of Bulgaria's budget for this year. It should have been passed by parliament in April.

The budget, which will be tabled in parliament, envisages a 20 billion leva deficit (over 1 billion dollars at the current exchange rate). The 1991 national budget which was passed early this year planned a 7 billion leva deficit which was quoted in Bulgaria's letter of intent to the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, said that the budget will stop interfering in any way in the economy which he described as a "revolution." The relative portion of revenues drops from 57.1 percent to 33 percent. Taxes are cut by one-third. According to Mr. Kostov, the updated budget helps manufacturers, encourages private business and gives an impetus to the reform.

The budget will no longer subsidize the prices of fuel oil. It became known at yesterday's cabinet meeting that they will be liberalized in near future.

The finance minister expects sharp conflicts with the trade unions. He voiced his hope that parliament will pass the new budget. He told journalists that "unless it does, Mr. Kostov will hand in his resignation."

Vulkov's News Conference in Ankara Reported

AU2805203691 Sofia BTA in English 2008 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Ankara, May 28 (BTA)—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, told journalists that he was extremely satisfied with his visit to Turkey thanks to the sincere and open talks which were held. He stated that according to him there are all prerequisites for a favorable change in bilateral relations. "We must forget unpleasant things as quickly as possible and take the road to Europe together with our neighbors," Mr. Vulkov said.

He said that a number of useful ideas were suggested at the talks in Ankara and work on them would start literally the next day. He said that he expects a return visit by his Turkish counterpart.

Mr. Vulkov said that a normal dialogue is starting between the two countries as some future meetings of their representatives have been scheduled. Asked by a correspondent of the Anatolian Agency whether Bulgaria still insists on signing a non-aggression pact with Turkey, Mr. Vulkov said that this is an idea of the two countries and not only of Bulgaria. Turkey's foreign minister, Mr. Alptemocin, added that the two sides to the talks in Ankara reached an agreement to work out and sign a declaration on friendliness and cooperation which is much more comprehensive and makes such a pact superfluous.

Mr. Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin said that the talks in Ankara marked the beginning of a new period in Bulgaro-Turkish relations which is fully in line with the CSCE process. He stressed that as participants in this process the two countries wish to forget the unpleasant memories of the past and having learned a lesson from history, to maintain good-neighborly relations and cooperation with a view to the future. "If we do this, Turkey and Bulgaria will soon become an example of cooperation in the region," Mr. Alptemocin said.

Turkey's foreign minister emphasized that the two sides reached agreement on all problems discussed at the talks in Ankara which promises well for the future development of bilateral relations. He added that the idea for economic cooperation between the Black Sea countries is being promoted. Some details will be specified at a forthcoming meeting in Moscow which will be an important step to the fulfillment of the idea.

Ambassador Markov Holds Talks in Macedonia

AU2905071591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 May 91 p 1

[Goran Gotev report: "Kiro Gligorov Calls For Borders Between Macedonia and Bulgaria To Be Opened"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov proposed more dealings between the people and an opening of the borders between Macedonia and Bulgaria when he received Marko Markov, Bulgarian ambassador to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] in Skopje. For his part, the ambassador stressed the meaning of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's 27 February declaration, in which the Bulgarian Government recognizes the state and sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia and declares that it has no territorial designs on it.

Having recalled that the declaration has no analogy in its historical sense and meaning even in the internal Yugoslavian plan, Marko Markov expressed his regret that this document, which opened up wide-ranging possibilities for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation had not elicited a like response in the SFRY, especially in Macedonia. Attempts had even been made to distort its meaning in the spirit of anti-Bulgarian insinuations well known from the totalitarian past.

A meeting also took place with the leadership of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] led by its leader Ljupco Georgievski—Macedonian Vice President and with General Secretary Boris Zmejkovski. Macedonia highly appraised the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's declaration in support of the state and sovereignty of Macedonia and expressed a wish for dialogue and close cooperation between Macedonia, Bulgaria and Greece. It is pointed out that "GLAS" the only organ of the VMRO-DPMNE published the text of the Bulgarian declaration in full.

The leaders of the party declared that it is time go beyond former squabbles and begin mutual talks based above all on what we have in common to look for a solution to existing controversial issues. The VMRO-DPMNE thinks that along these lines the direct contacts between the political parties of Macedonia and Bulgaria are particularly important and useful.

A meeting also took place with Branko Crvenkovski, chairman of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia [SDSM]. He warmly expressed his thanks for the greetings sent [by] Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to the constituent congress of the party and expressed a readiness for all-round development of cooperation between the Macedonian Social Democrats and Bulgarian Socialists, including a meeting between the leaderships of the two parties. Crvenkovski announced that the SDSM wants to become a left-of-center political force and is now holding talks with the Social Democratic Party of Dr. Slavko Milosavlevski on unification.

Former State Security General Leaves for Moscow

AU2805180391 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Another high-ranking officer of the former State Security has recently left for Moscow. General Todorov who together with two of his colleagues was accused of having tucked away or destroyed the file of Georgi Markov, the Bulgarian emigrant-writer and opponent of Zhivkov's regime who died in London in 1978 under mysterious circumstances. His death gave rise to the widely popular "Bulgarian umbrella" version.

The Prosecutor General of the Armed Forces, Colonel Liiko Yotsov, confirmed for BTA General Todorov's departure. The Prosecuting Magistracy is carrying out investigation of the case on which the General's wife refused to comment.

On May 18 "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" reported that the former head of State Security, General Savov, who is under investigation in the same case together with General Todorov and General Sekerdzhieva, had left for Moscow. "We have good reason to believe that the file (of Georgi Markov) has been tucked away and now is kept in Moscow," the daily wrote.

According to the (disranked) KGB General Oleg Kaitugin, former head of the Soviet counter-intelligence who gave a series of interviews for Bulgarian and other foreign mass media in the recent months, Georgi Markov had been assassinated by order of Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's former No. 1. The poison used was prepared in the secret laboratories of KGB at the request of the former Interior Minister Dimitur Stoyanov.

Mr. Stoyanov denied Mr. Kaitugin's "slanderous" statements and so did the press centre of KGB, charging its former employee with "making insinuations for political purposes."

Dispute Over Land Law Implementation in Village

AU2705230991 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 May 91 p 2

[Gencho Genchev report from Vurzulitsa, in the Veliko Turnovo district]

[Text] Strife is starting in the villages following the adoption of the imperfect Land Act and the sterile regulations for its application. It now turns out that the land commissions have to be formed after the formation

of a central commission and following the adoption of the new law on territorial and settlement organization. However, the people in the villages will not wait.

Influenced by a Bulgarian television program in which Minister [of Agriculture] Spirov took part, Georgi Bobev, an inhabitant of Vurzulitsa, unearthed the land titles of his forefathers, plowed 1.20 decares with a horse-drawn plow, and sowed the plot with corn, using seed bought with his own money. Penalties imposed by the chairman of the local labor cooperative farm followed—summons to the police station, threats, and seizure of 100 sheep tended by him for the past three months. Finally, the sprouting corn was plowed into the ground. The young man, who has been dismissed without official authorization, is now in a quandary as to what he should do. Can anyone give him a suggestion?

Worldwide Communications Link Foreseen

AU2905120991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 May 91 p 2

[Milena Nikolova report: "Main Trans-Siberian Communication Link Will Probably Also Pass Through Bulgaria"]

[Text] The main Trans-Siberian communications link, with its starting point in Japan, will probably pass through Bulgaria if we are accepted into the International Planning Consortium, said Khristo Raykov, head of the International Relations Department, at a news conference held by the Committee for Communications and Information on 22 May. The southwestern branch of the digital optical cables will cross Bulgarian territory under the sea. If we are included in this worldwide system, we will receive various types of information by fax, telefax, telegraph, and television signal very quickly. The communication lines, Sofia-Veliko Turnovo-Ruse, and Varna-Sliven will be renewed with Soviet transistor equipment, Raykov said. In addition, preventive repairs will be carried out on the Varna-Sebastopol line. A well balanced bilateral exchange of newspapers and magazines is foreseen in the agreement between the Committee for Communications and Information and the USSR Communications Ministry.

Austria's Vranitsky Continues Visit to Slovakia

Economic Cooperation Discussed

LD2805120391 Prague Federal Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] The second part of the official visit by Federal Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to the CSFR continued this afternoon in Slovakia. Shortly after its arrival, the delegation was welcomed at Bratislava Castle by [Slovak National Council Chairman] Frantisek Miklosko and other representatives. At the forefront of interest were questions on the development of neighborly relations on a parliamentary, legislative, and regional level in connection with the joint border where, on the basis of already achieved results and agreement of views, there are no obstacles for Austria and Slovakia to improve the quality of relations even more.

Talks between Franz Vranitzky and Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky went accordingly. It emerged that the debate on economic cooperation, specifically in the area of energy production, is not simply the Jaslovske Bohunice case, nuclear energy, or possibly the completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power station. Austria is aware of the obstacles facing our economy and what the neighboring Slovak political representatives must deal with. This is why the aid on offer, worth 3.5 million schillings, must be discussed. This injection will not create a system which could fit into the cogwheels of Austrian economic interest.

Both representatives also touched on the sensitive issues of some poorly conceived and discriminatory measures by Austria with regard to our citizens traveling to our neighbors.

At this moment a news conference given by the Austrian Federal chancellor has begun, and in the evening Franz Vranitzky will end his visit to the CSFR and return to Vienna.

Comments on Yugoslav Crisis

AU2805141691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 May pp 1, 5

[Interview with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky by Juraj Veres, chief editor of NARODNA OBRODA; Juraj Alner, chief editor of CAS; Jiri Forejt, LIDOVE NOVINY reporter; and Ivana Stepankova, MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter in Vienna on 21 May: "State of Our Relations—The Best Ever"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Question] What is your view of the present relations between Slovaks and Czechs? Does Austria not feel threatened by its neighbors, for instance by the developments in Yugoslavia?

[Vranitzky] We do not feel threatened from either side.

[Question] What is your view of the situation in connection with the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its possible impact on developments in Central Europe?

[Vranitzky] Let me start with your country. The most important thing, in my opinion, is that no one should have the right to try to influence the internal affairs of another state from outside. Of course, even in Austria there are people who argue that the right to self-determination is so great that we must help enforce this right. There is a word in your language—"pozor" [Czech and Slovak for "watch out, beware of"]. This is, indeed, a very dangerous position. It would mean that we would determine, within the CSCE process, that wherever human rights are violated state borders no longer exist. It is not just human rights that are at stake here, but also what the nations themselves consider good under self-determination. [sentence as published] This is why no country should influence nations living in a different state union.

As for Yugoslavia, the nations living in that country have probably decided that they are no longer able to sustain the present system and will act differently, in a new way. Many people in Yugoslavia understand "new" as completely different things, they disagree on what the "new" should look like. I believe that the international community should not forget that Yugoslavia is a European state, that it needs cooperation and neighborly assistance, but that this cooperation and assistance must enable everyone to achieve the same level of freedom, the freedom people need to build their future. Of course, in Yugoslavia this is even more difficult, as many nationalities live there, whose antagonisms are reflected very harshly. Earlier today I submitted a proposal on how to economically cooperate with, and assist, the individual republics of Yugoslavia through the medium of the European Free Trade Association. We must be very patient, however, because emotions there are running very high today.

[Question] There are strong nationalist movements in Europe, especially in the countries of the former so-called "socialist camp." The minds of many people are set on the division of countries rather than on integration. Austria stands in the middle. How do you view the future of these relations?

[Vranitzky] The answer for me is easy and clear: The borders of Austria remain what they were. From our side there are no objections should the borders of other countries change. Every method of romanticizing the past is nonsense. [passage omitted]

Concludes Visit

LD2805193391 Prague CTK in English 2146 GMT 27 May 91

Bratislava, May 27 (CTK)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky praised today the public statement of Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky that the fears of the Austrian

population about the operation of the nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice "are being taken seriously in Slovakia".

Speaking to journalists after his talks with Carnogursky and other Slovak government officials Vranitzky said "it had not always been so. At the beginning we repeatedly heard that the Bohunice power plant is safe and there is nothing to talk about".

According to Vranitzky, the present stands have been reached thanks to Austria's consistency, but he praised the willingness of the Czechoslovak partners to cooperate. "Our ideal would be to achieve a complete shutdown of the nuclear station but we cannot expect this nor force anyone to do it". He will try to remove all factors causing uncertainty of the Austrian public, he said.

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said the Austrian public should not consider it an ignorance on the Czechoslovak side that it has not yet accepted the demand that the plant be shut down. The steps to increase its safety, which were approved by the Czechoslovak atomic energy commission earlier this month, guarantee that it will now be up to international standards. "Austrian experts have and will have access to the plant to see for themselves that its operation is safe", Carnogursky said.

Speaking about the hydroelectric power project on the Danube at Gabcikovo Carnogursky noted that Czechoslovakia has already made considerable investments in it while the Hungarian side unilaterally withdrew. No final decision has been taken because expert analyses of environmental impacts are under way and will be concluded within several weeks. A decision to put a power station into operation on Czechoslovak territory would not mean higher consumption of waters from the Danube, he said.

Vranitzky also met today with Slovak National Council (parliament) Chairman Frantisek Miklosko who thanked [him] for Austria's assistance and sympathy in the last twenty years which helped the victory of democracy in Czechoslovakia.

Vranitzky said that a free Europe gives good chances that the problems of individual countries will be solved but a lot of patience is necessary. It cannot be expected that after forty years they can be removed in a short time. He described regional cooperation as very important.

After his talks in Slovakia, Vranitzky ended his one-day visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

Last Regular Soviet Army Unit Leaves Milovice

LD2805203691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Today will enter the history books of Czechoslovakia. The last regular unit of the Soviet Army, the battalion for the defense of the Command of the Central Group of Soviet Armed Forces left Milovice. With the departure of the 71,543 soldiers, the withdrawal of Soviet forces is complete. Only a liquidation group of 350 officers and 450 soldiers remain on our territory. Their task is to hand over all remaining facilities to the Czechoslovak side by 20 June. The signature of the final protocol on the withdrawal of Soviet forces is expected on 26 June this year. The stay of the uninvited guests in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic will thus end after 22 years. Before the departure of the echelon, I spoke to one of the commanders, General Anatoliy Fedorovich Morozhkin.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter, in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] General, what are your feelings on leaving Czechoslovakia?

[Morozhhkin, in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] Well, I am leaving with the feeling of having completed my duty. We are soldiers and we carry out our duties. We have now received orders to return home.

[Reporter] And what is your view of 1968?

[Morozhkin] My personal view is that the decision by the Warsaw Pact states was not correct. I think that everything could have been solved without the use of military force. [end recording]

Carnogursky on Danube Project, Trianon Treaty

LD2405224391 Prague CTK in English 1326 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Bratislava, May 24 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky told CTK today Czechoslovakia is not breaching the Trianon Treaty because the Slovak government has not yet decided to go ahead with the completion of the hydroelectric power project on the Danube at Gabcikovo. Carnogursky was responding to yesterday's statement by Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall that the implementation of the unilateral Slovak decision to divert Danube's waters to Czechoslovakia would seriously breach the Trianon Treaty of 1920. The treaty was one of the documents which were signed after the First World War and which newly arranged borders in Europe. Under it, the boundary between Czechoslovakia and Hungary runs through the middle of the Danube. On Tuesday, the Slovak government decided to ensure the completion after June 15, 1991, of the Gabcikovo part of the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian project even without Hungary's participation or consent. The two governments' representatives are to meet in a last-ditch attempt to bring their stands into line before the date. Carnogursky said the "C" alternative of completion of the Gabcikovo part of the project, as the diverting of the Danube waters is called, is a transitional solution. It is to reduce the damage caused to Czechoslovakia by Hungary by its unilateral withdrawal from the 1977 agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros scheme in May 1989. The quantity of waters diverted from the Danube under this alternative would be no bigger than that envisaged by the Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement, Carnogursky added. The financial loss caused to Czechoslovakia by the discontinuation of the building work

amounted last year to 2,100 million crowns. This year it will be 3,900 million crowns and in 1992, when the Gabcikovo part was to be fully operational, the loss will be 6,000 million crowns. This figure includes the value of ungenerated electric power. Hungary says it has discontinued work on the project for environmental reasons. Czechoslovakia believes the damage which would be caused if the scheme were left as it is would be bigger than if completed.

I. Carnogursky Denies Accusations of Collaboration

AU2405135391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 May 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Denial by Ivan Carnogursky"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday, Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, speaking on Slovak Television's news program "Topical Issues" [Aktuality], refuted the accusation of collaboration with State Security [StB] raised against him by Jan Demikat, former chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Slovakia at a news conference in Kosice earlier today. In his statement, Ivan Carnogursky says, among other things: "The only comment I can make regarding the agent registration number is that everybody who was interrogated by the police in the past, and who was in any way of interest to them, was registered somewhere and assigned a number that remained until the regime collapsed. I, who was in the center of interest of the StB, and who, similarly to the rest of our family, had been questioned many times, had to have this number. It is the same with President Havel and other people who passed through StB investigation. That is no proof."

To a journalist's question regarding the accusation of active collaboration with the StB, I. Carnogursky responded: "Since over the years I managed to get through so many tortures from the StB, and they did not manage either to convict me or to force anything out of me, I have a clear conscience and feel secure. If Mr. Demikat, Ciklamini, or Mr. Meciar want to accuse me of collaboration with the StB, I can only laugh over their abilities, or lack thereof, to get somewhere in politics."

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 May on page 2, under the headline "Agent 20275—But Without Signature," publishes a 300-word "GB" signed report on Demikat's accusation based on copies of documents from 1977 that, however, do not carry Carnogursky's signature.]

Commission Completes StB Deputies' Screening

LD2505135191 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Jiri Ruml, chairman of the Czechoslovak parliamentary commission investigating the November 17, 1989 events, said today that the screening of parliament deputies for possible past collaboration with the Secret Police (StB) has finished.

Referring to the case of deputy Jan Kavan (OF-Independent) [Civic Forum-Independent] whose name was found in StB files and made public in parliament on March 22, Ruml told a press conference that the commission had studied materials only from StB archives, and not those that came from abroad in his support. No resolution or petition can change the fact that Deputy Kavan was registered in StB files, said Ruml.

Journalists were told that there are 20 staff members of the Federal Assembly Office, whose names were in the StB files, still working in the office while another five have given notice.

Ruml said the main work of the commission—to clarify circumstances of the November 17, 1989 events—has not stopped, a final report is to be worked out by the end of this year. He said in investigating the events, the commission had found out interesting facts concerning journalists who are still today seen on television screens and heard on the radio. Many of them were senior newspaper editors, Ruml said but gave no names.

Assembly Debates Report

LD2405225291 Prague CTK in English 1539 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) debated today a report of its commission investigating the November 17, 1989, events, submitted to the parliament May 21. The commission reported on a new round of screening of Federal parliament deputies, Federal ministers and their deputies, employees of the Federal Government Presidium Office and employees of the Federal parliament office, and demanded in its report publication of the whole network of former secret police (StB) collaborators and full agents. No subject under discussion was put to a vote and the joint session of the two houses of the Federal parliament was adjourned until May 28. The screening commission's report recapitulated the naming of ten Federal parliament deputies who were found on the list of former secret police (StB) collaborators at the Federal parliament session of March 22, 1991. The report said the commission does not mention the number of deputies who resigned from parliament. Though the commission ended the process of screening Federal parliament deputies on May 15, another two deputies were additionally found on the StB registers. One of them is Frantisek Michalek, the other one who is ill at present has not yet been informed of the results of screening and therefore cannot be named as he was not given the chance of a 15-day term to leave parliament without being named publicly. According to the screening commission's report, 14 Federal ministers or their deputies were found to have been former StB collaborators. According to Czechoslovak Premier Calfa, personnel changes in his cabinet are underway and are to be completed by the end of June 1991. The commission found 33 former StB

collaborators among the employees of the Federal Government Presidium Office. 15 of them were found to have been employees of the StB, i.e. full agents. In the Federal parliament office, the commission found 25 employees to have collaborated with the StB, 11 of them currently holding leading posts. The commission was also informed of screening in the President's Office which was carried out directly by the Federal Interior Ministry, which was within its powers. According to the commission's report, the Federal parliament should decide about screening of employees in the offices of the prosecutor general and the Czechoslovak Supreme Court. The commission proposed that complete files of those found in the StB registers should be made fully public. The commission also found out that in the mass media there still work former StB full agents and many collaborators and therefore proposed that legislative bodies in the Czech and the Slovak republics should deal with the question of screening mass media employees. The screening commission's report also pointed to the abuse of former StB files for political blackmailing and destabilisation in society and considers the publication of the network of StB full agents and collaborators the only solution.

Calfa Rebuts Screening Report

LD2505130491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 0740 GMT 24 May 91

[Address by Prime Minister Marian Calfa at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on the "Report of the Investigation Commission of the CSFR Federal Assembly on the Clarification of the Events of 17 November 1989"—live]

[Text] Dear Mr. Chairman, dear Federal Assembly. I want to acquaint you with the government's standpoint on the submitted report, as well as the draft resolution as it has been delivered here. The CSFR Government, during its 23-24 May 1991 sessions, analyzed a report of the investigation commission and the submitted draft resolution. The report contains significant announcements. However, allow me to note two things: Point Roman numeral I of the report gives information on the screening of members of the Federal Government and its deputies. The representatives of the commission have agreed, and the report notes it correctly, that all cases will be closed by the end of June 1991. This process is already taking place, and is without conflict. Point Roman numeral III of the submitted report gives data on the screening of the offices of the CSFR Government. Numerical data given in it are based on the list of employees presented to the commission in January 1991.

Inasmuch as the process of purification is taking place continually, these data do not correspond to today's situation. This situation was outlined yesterday by the head of the Government Office at a press conference, and the data is supplied in today's press.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, the question of screening has been influencing our political life, as well as public opinion, for some months already. It reflects general interest in removing from managerial posts all the people who did not come up to expectations, whether due to ill-intentions or due to mere weakness at difficult moments whether in political or public life. People want security; they are afraid, and they reject any possibility of manipulation or blackmail. If we want the term screening to disappear from our vocabulary, it is necessary to successfully complete the very process which is marked by this word. The commission has done good work in this direction. Today we are facing the problem of how to continue its work. At the same time we know that we will not proceed along the path of legal nihilism, that our attempts to clear the most important sphere of social influence must be accompanied by respect for all rights concerning the protection of personality.

It is at this point that our policy must be extremely cautious so that we might successfully face the democratic world as well as ourselves. We must also be fully aware of the dilemma we are facing. Implementation of tasks and requirements, which are contained in the proposed resolution on the report of the commission, must be preceded by the adoption of a number of bills, or we must fully admit that our actions are not in harmony with the existing laws. The government draws attention to the fact that the task for the Federal Assembly Presidium—to declassify materials for the needs of the press—can only be carried out concurrently with the alteration of Bill No. 102 of 1971, in view of the principle which governs this bill, namely that materials can be declassified by the office which classified them. The topic of discussion of the members of the government was, above all, that in the part of the proposed resolution in which the Federal Assembly asks the government to safeguard the screening of employees of the CSFR general prosecutor and Supreme Court, including authority powers, the same thing be done with employees of the communication media under the jurisdiction of the central bodies of the Federation.

In the previous address, part of this resolution was changed. At the same time, the draft resolution asks the government to declassify and publish the lists of secret collaborators with the State Security police who are Czechoslovak state citizens, or who have permanent residence in its territory, and to name the former members of the State Security Police. This request by the Federal Assembly must be judged from the viewpoints of international law, constitutional law, civil law, and criminal law, as well as politics. It is from this point of view that the CSFR Government recommends the Federal Assembly to request the government to make a reassessment, while taking into consideration the general declaration of human rights, the international agreement on economic, social, and cultural rights, action protocol, and the Helsinki Final Act. As to internal political connections, and harmony with legal order, it is necessary to consider the proposed measures in light of the principles of the law, above all the principles of legality and legitimicy, and the constitutional principle of equality.

At the same time, the government draws attention to the constitutional law which introduces the document of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the actual text of this document. As to the communication media, the government views it generally in the same way as the commission—namely, that the method of work of some of the media gives the impression of organized manipulation, disinformation, and distortion. Inasmuch as these communication media can influence public opinion, personnel composition of editorial boards deserve exceptional attention. The powers of the Federation, however, do not include a single significant communication medium. Some central bodies of the Federation publish specialized magazines.

If our attempts to purify society are sincere, then we ought, with equal sincerity and openness, to think about the policies through which we want to implement this. Let us admit to ourselves that in the given social situation and atmosphere, the actual publishing of the name of a person in essence equals his accusation. It is obvious that this step would lead toward disqualification of people from their jobs, and it would also affect a broad circle of descendants and relatives.

The Federal Government is convinced that publishing the presented lists in the conditions which have arisen, with the presence of democratic institutions and habits—in the situation where the law is being normally infringed upon, where the appropriate bodies are incapable of opposing this infringement, where entire power structures of the state are being transformed—that publishing the lists equals exposure of these persons and their families to chicanery. That is why it considers this step ill-considered.

By virtue of this viewpoint, the government is not protecting people who had influence. After all, influence was felt by a number of government members. The government, however, thinks that an honorable solution to all these problems is possible only on the basis of the experience of those states which in their history had to tackle this difficult problem.

The process of screenings has already required much effort and time, and we have to thank the commission for this. Any attempt to solve the problem satisfactorily, however, must lean on firm legal ground. The Federal Assembly, through its Resolution No. 123 of 26 March 1991, asked the government to submit a draft bill on dealing with information concerning members of and collaborators with the State Security Police. Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky has asked Interior Minister Langos to prepare this bill so it can be discussed as early as possible. The government thinks that adopting the legal norm, respecting our own and international legal orders, and using comparisons and historical experience is the best and only possible way to come to terms with the problem facing us, all the more so as this conclusion has already twice been adopted by the Federal Assembly. This has also been done by Resolution No. 94, which, moreover, adopted a principle that the names of those who, on the basis of the commissions's investigation, leave their posts, will not be published.

The pressing nature of the problems presented in the draft resolution is not diminishing; their solution is not being postponed. On the contrary, it is only through the bill, which will include as its integral component all the proposals with which we are concerned, that we will gain the certainty that our decision is correct and will withstand future tests. The Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, on this basis, recommends that its stated arguments be assessed, and if the Federal Assembly identifies with them, to adopt resolutions on the proposed points numbers one and two, a and b, and point three, a.

Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Debates Intelligence Services Bill

LD2805212491 Prague CTK in English 1948 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)—The activity of Czechoslovakia's intelligence services will be regulated by law for the first time in the history of the Republic (founded in 1918—ed.), a Federal parliament deputy said today in submitting a bill on the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS).

The Deputy, Jana Petrova (Civic Forum-Civic Democratic Party), said the aim of the bill is to prevent the FIS from abusing its position as the former secret police (StB) did under the communist regime.

The activity of the StB, part of the Interior Ministry, was not regulated by law and reached into almost all areas of society, Petrova said.

Under the bill, the FIS will gather and process information with the aim of protecting the Constitution, the independence of the state, its defence capability and its security. Petrova said the FIS will struggle against foreign intelligence services.

She said the bill is also directed at the expansion of internationally organised crime in Europe and the spread of various extremist, racist and fascist movements to Czechoslovakia.

Petrova said the FIS will not have an executive structure and will not have the right to carry out investigations under the Criminal Code. Politics will have no place in it, i.e. FIS employees will not work for any party or movement.

The bill gives broad powers to the Federal parliament to supervise the FIS activities. This will strengthen the safeguards against abuse of the FIS by narrow power groups, Petrova said.

Deputy Petr Uhl (Civic Forum-Civic Movement), joint rapporteur of the Defence and Security Committees of the House of Nations, specified two important amendments to the original bill proposed by the committees.

One considerably weakens the link between the FIS and the Federal Government, and contains more detailed provisions for the supervision of FIS activities by the Federal parliament.

Uhl said ties between the Interior Ministry and the FIS, which is still an organic part of the Ministry, are natural. But there exists a general will in favour of the separation of the Ministry and the FIS, and this not only de jure, but also de facto, Uhl added.

The vote on the 50 proposed changes to the bill and [passage indistinct].

Slovak Council Presidium Statement on Screenings

AU2905120591 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 23 May 91 p 4

["Standpoint of the Slovak National Council Presidium on Screenings in the Slovak Republic," issued in Bratislava on 21 May]

[Text] The State Security Corps [StB] was a constituent part of the National Security Corps, whose actions, carried out in the interest of implementing the policies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCz], have been overwhelmingly unconstitutional, especially after 1948. In building the agency of its collaborators, the StB was guided by unlawful directives. Persons participating in this cooperation violated basic human rights and liberties guaranteed under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948, the International Pact of Civic and Political Rights of 10 December 1966, as well as all constitutions of the Republic (for example, Articles 19, 20, and 28 to 31 of the 1960 Constitution). Proceeding from these facts, we regard screenings for collaboration with the StB based on material of the agency of StB collaborators, the Border Guards, and Military Counterintelligence to be one way to cleanse public and political life. The reasons are:

—To prevent leaks of information from the highest political institutions of the Slovak republic to undesirable persons in the CSFR as well as abroad;

—To prevent possible blackmail of persons in the highest legislative and state bodies of the Slovak republic;

—To eliminate undemocratic procedures and manipulation in social and political life.

Apart from this, the public has the moral right to demand that, together with StB agents and collaborators, all those who at any time in the past had the right to assign tasks to the StB and to knowingly use the results of its activity also depart from political life and leading positions in the economy. This concerns, in particular, former CPCz district and regional secretaries and leading officials and staff members of the CPCz Central Committee, because of whom the networks of agents had been built and who availed themselves of the information obtained. We also recommend publishing the names of those StB members who try to misuse information acquired during their service in the StB or who carry on this activity.

The Slovak National Council Presidium recommends that screenings be carried out on the basis of a law (Slovak National Council resolution). This law (Slovak National Council resolution) must:

a) Characterize the activity of the abovementioned components of the security forces and their collaborators as an activity defying basic human rights;

b) Define the range of office holders who will be subjected to screenings;

We recommend that screenings be carried out in two stages. Their first stage should comprise deputies to the Slovak National Council, members of the Slovak republic government and deputy ministers, judges of the Slovak republic Supreme Court, organs of the Slovak republic General Prosecutor's Office, the directors of Slovak Television and Slovak Radio, the Slovak National Council Office, and the Slovak republic Government Office. In the second stage, screenings would extend to section chiefs and department directors at individual ministries and heads of district authorities as well as, on the basis of requests from statutory bodies, also to officials and the apparatus of political parties and to employees of the mass media.

c) Define categories of security forces' collaborators;

d) Determine the method of screening;

The Slovak National Council Presidium recommends that the screenings be based on the register of StB files, followed by individual inquiry clarifying the extent of collaboration. It regards as evidence of collaboration a signed document on collaboration, along with submitted proof of activity or the conclusively demonstrated activity as a resident agent or as holder of a conspiratorial apartment. A person who has been identified as an StB collaborator has the right to examine the results of the inquiry and the evidence. A person identified as collaborator must be given the opportunity of court protection. Collaboration ascertained by legal means is, from the moral viewpoint, incompatible with the office of a constitutional official.

e) Lay down the consequences of proven collaboration with the security components of the StB, the Border Guards, and Military Counterintelligence;

One alternative is not to publish the results of the inquiry but, to report the ascertained facts to the person concerned. The other alternative is to make the results of the inquiry public.

f) Appoint the body to carry out the screenings;

The screenings of the aforementioned persons should be carried out either through the medium of a Slovak National Council commission (first stage) or the Federal Ministry of Interior should be requested to carry them out (second stage).

The Slovak National Council commission could be established as follows:

—By electing three deputies enjoying the confidence of the Slovak National Council plenum

—By electing three deputies from the existing Slovak National Council commission, or

—By electing a commission in which all political parties [represented in the Slovak National Council] would be represented.

The methods of work to be used by the commission will be set out in greater detail in the law (resolution of the Slovak National Council).

g) Determine the starting date of screenings and the deadline for their conclusion;

The starting date of screenings will coincide with the coming into effect of the law (Slovak National Council resolution).

This material is based on the report of the Slovak National Council Commission for Preparing the Slovak National Council Presidium's Standpoint on Screenings in the Slovak republic, which the Slovak National Council Presidium discussed on 17 May and 21 May 1991.

Army Officers To Be Replaced in Personnel Shift

LD2505052191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2000 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Federal Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky today signed an order through which he will implement important personnel changes in the Army command. For instance, from 1 June he will recall from their posts the current deputy commander of the General Staff, commander of the Main Logistical Support [Nacelnik Hlavniho Tylu] branch, and head of the Main Administration of the Ground Forces. New generals and officers are appointed to these posts.

Major General Jiri Jindra is recalled from the post of head of the Foreign Relations Department from 1 July.

According to information from the Federal Ministry of Defense, the personnel changes are linked to the Czechoslovak Army's reoganization and relocation. It seems more likely that these changes are a reaction to an interpellation by Federal Assembly Deputy Michal Maly, who described in a 23-page document the totally unacceptable staffing of some high-ranking posts in our Army.

Defense Minister Affirms Army Loyalty to State

LD2505173291 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—In spite of its internal problems, the Czechoslovak Army as a whole is loyal to the state, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said here today.

Speaking at a national conference of the Military Revival Association (Vojenska Obroda-SVO), comprising nearly 10,000 former career officers and soldiers who were released from the Army for their political stands in the 1948-1989 period, Dobrovsky said the officers and soldiers who returned to the Army have been helping to transform it into an army of a democratic country.

According to the association's data, as many as 10,905 officers and soldiers were released from the Army in 1948-1989. By May 1, 1989, 10,599 soldiers asked to be rehabilitated and so far 1,066 officers returned to the Army.

The association was set up in December 1989 as a non-political organisation aiming at the rehabilitation of officers dismissed for their political attitudes. Its members are represented also in the leadership of the Defence Ministry, for instance, Deputy Defence Minister Antonin Rasek and chief of the Army General Staff General Karel Pezl.

Vaclav Klaus on Progress of Economic Reform

AU2905103891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 May 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Opinions Regarding the Reform"]

[Text] Responding to yesterday's CTK question to political party representatives, Vaclav Klaus, CSFR minister of finance and chairman of the Civic Democratic Party, said: "The course of the economic reform and its results so far are very satisfactory. This might come as a surprise in a situation when inflation exceeds 30 percent, production declines, and unemployment grows, but they all are necessary phenomena that accompany a transition to the market economy. If we compare them with the developments of our neighbors (Poland, Hungary), we find that our economy is the most stable because the speed of our reform is greater. I consider the surplus budget a particularly positive phenomenon as it guarantees that inflation will not get out of control, as well as demonstrates the ability of the central bank to keep a steady koruna exchange rate—all this, in a situation when the balance of payments reflects adverse external conditions, particularly the disintegration of the Soviet market."

Vladimir Zelezny, press spokesman of the Civic Movement, spoke for the movement he represents: "We believe that the progress of the economic reform is

satisfactory and we do not believe it necessary in principle to change its individual steps. That does not preclude small adjustments according to the situation at the time."

Report on Recent Nuclear Plant Incident Issued

AU2805110891 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 23 (CTK)— The Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant in West Slovakia will use from now onward the International Atomic Energy Agency's INES scale in classifying the degree of radiation in case of incident, says a report of the Jaslovske Bohunice Nuclear Plant Information Center, handed over to CTK today.

The report refers to the leakage of 50 liters of a potassium chromate/potassium dichromate solution onto the floor of the reactor hall in the A1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice on May 12 and announced on May 17.

According to regulations so far valid in the power plant, the incident was classified as a first-degree one which did not require immediate reporting to the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission.

According to the INES scale of zero to seven, the accident was classified as third degree and Czechoslovakia promised to report all incidents of second degree and up.

Prague— None of the personnel on-duty were radiated during the incident in the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant on May 12, and no radioactive material leaked out of the plant building, according to a report submitted to the Czechoslovak Government and handed over to CTK today.

The report, delivered by the Federal Committee for Environment Chairman Josef Vavrousek and the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission Chairman Karel Wagner, said there is no danger of further leakage during works on eliminating the consequences of the accident. Nevertheless, the vicinity of the reactor hall in which the accident took place is strongly contaminated.

The accident took place as the result of violation of technological regulations by the personnel, the report said.

Though there were no casualties and the accident will certainly have no consequences, the May 12 accident was the most extensive indoor leakage of radioactive material in the history of Czechoslovak nuclear power plants, the report said.

On May 16, the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Agency's inspection group arrived on the site of the accident and immediately sent a report to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and to responsible authorities in Austria, Germany, and Hungary, the report said.

The investigation has not yet been concluded. The Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission has fined the nuclear plant for failing to report on the accident in time and will demand punishment of those who broke regulations.

Reportage on President Havel's Scandinavia Trip

For reportage on President Vaclav Havel's trip to Scandinavia, including reports on his talks with the Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and his visit to Sweden, see the relevant sections of the 22 May and subsequent issues of the West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Antall Interviewed on Government Anniversary

LD2405214191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 May 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by "Extra" program editor Andras Kerekes; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kerekes] As the editor of "Extra" I greet my listeners. In the next 30 minutes you will hear an interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on the occasion that the second year of his government has started. First, I asked the prime minister to sum up what he considers a success and a failure in the past year.

[Antall] I consider it a success that Hungary is trusted abroad so much that in this one year more than half of all the investment in the Central-Eastern European region, including the Soviet Union, was in Hungary. The foreign financial world appreciates Hungary, it means that they trust Hungary. The condition for this is economic and political stability. This is the basic success. In addition, it is a success that the country is operating, and we do not have to fear comparison with any former socialist country, and also with such areas as eastern Germany, where a high industrial civilization was taken under communist power after a lost war, and in the unified Germany it became part of West Germany which had an enormous economic force, and there are serious problems there, too. [passage omitted] It is also a success that during our government the foreign currency reserves of Hungary have trebled. The foreign currency reserves and their growth are the condition for the Hungarian forint to become convertible in the foreseeable future.

The other question is that during this time the Hungarian National Assembly adopted nearly 100 laws, bills, and amendments submitted by the government, so it set a legislation record which can definitely be considered an achievement, even if we do not feel it as fast enough ourselves from the viewpoint of the transformation, because it is most difficult to carry out such a transformation within the framework of a constitutional state, and with a constitutional government which has limited power. It is also a success that we could carry out the transformation in an unprecedented historic process. No one has transferred to a free market economy and constitutional state from a communist planned economy system, from a one-party system. These are the results.

[Kerekes] What do you consider a failure?

[Antall] I can consider a failure what could not be done. I do not wish to go into details about what the legacy means which obviously determines our progress, what disadvantages this means, what the drought, the Gulf war, the collapse of the markets of the Soviet Union and the whole Eastern-Central European region meant. These are the external and internal factors due to which we could not carry out the government's aims in all areas.

It was a failure, or I could say we could not achieve from our program, for example, the fact that we could not stop fast enough the indebtedness of the enterprises to each other; the privatization was not carried out fast enough; but there are arguments about whether it is fast or not. I do accept that this could be done faster. Of course, all this has its legislative conditions. In addition to this, the failure which we could expect in advance was that such a transformation has a tremendous price. [passage omitted]

[Kerekes] [passage omitted] I think that you have received plenty of criticism during the last year. However, I am certain that you hoped for a lot more trust from the people. Why did this diminish, or why was not there enough of it?

[Antall] Regarding trust, the diminution of trust toward the government and the government coalition, or if you like, our political trend, in such a transformation will inevitably diminish. [passage omitted] The larger part of the country, and according to my feelings, the opposition also, sees clearly that this is simply the price of transformation, and whoever had gotten into government would have had to take the same measures. Trust did not diminish in the sense that we would not be able to lead this country, even if we had to do this to the accompaniment of a very loud chorus. To date, however, no one has come up with a trend different from this government's trend, a different program, if you like, with an alternative program.

We never promised anything else. I would like to say this, because this great lie is often heard to the effect that we promised some sort of light dream and easy way out. We never promised that. On the contrary, we promised very hard and difficult years. I personally often said that the first would-be prime minister of Hungary must be a fanatic, a madman, or a missionary. This was published both at home and abroad. If I had not believed that this is an unpopular, difficult, almost inhuman task, I would not have said this even at the time, when I was not even in question as prime minister.

[Kerekes] Well, yes, this is undoubtedly a catch-22 situation, that for hundreds of thousands the transfer to a market economy means the deterioration of their direct living standard. Do you feel that the social safety net is missing to a greater extent from this social market economy, as you would have envisaged at the start? Is the government pulling out from areas where it should stay, for example, health service, cultural life, education, arts, social politics, and so forth?

[Antall] First of all, I would like to point out that the government program is for four years. Thus, when we are talking about a four-year government program to develop a social market economy, then we mean a four-year trend, a four-year government program, and a four-year action program. We did not and do not say that every element of this can be carried out overnight. Unfortunately, Hungarian society was not prepared for the fact that the country is in a grave situation, and things were going this way already in recent years. [passage omitted]

[Kerekes] Very many small enterpreneurs and businessmen were hoping for much from the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the government. However, now they say that they did not get the expected encouragement, there is unfair taxation, and no real credit conditions. So who is to become the real basis of the new Hungarian bourgeois society?

[Antall] I believe that the conditions for credit have improved. It was not all that easy to create appropriate credit facilities. It is not too simple to guarantee cheap loans in an ecomony that is in a state of inflation, even if inflation in our country is not as rampant as in other countries. Thus, credit facilities, even if they seemed limited, the number of ventures have increased considerably in Hungary, and yes, there are wide enterpreneurial strata, which are forever broadening. The aim is to create a wide middle stratum in Hungary which is the basis of every democracy, so that it is governable. [passage omitted] So where there are a lot of rich people, the number of poor always decreases.

[Kerekes] So this, in your view, means a progressive way of developing a bourgeois society and not the reproduction of an old regime?

[Antall] This, by all means, means a forward trend. The trend of the processes of ventures and acquiring a bourgeois mentality can obviously only point toward the end of the 20th century bourgeois society. So opinions to the effect that the government, or the government coalition, wants to restore some sort of social structure of the 19th or 20th century or the times from between the two world wars, well, these can simply be put in the category of lies and nonsense. These are very good slogans if somebody would want to run down the Hungarian people or frighten people.

The fact that Hungary speaks about moral compensation, or rehabilitation, or partial ownership compensation is simply necessary to stabilize ownership relations, and there is no connection whatsoever with the fact that it is a progressive thing toward the end of the 20th century. [passage omitted] Thus, the compensation law in itself is not something that harks back to the old regime; it is just as much nonsense as the Christian course, or the so-called neo-baroque formalities, and so forth—these are just things made up by a few demented pseudo-intellectuals to frighten people in Hungarian society.

[Kerekes] What is your response to the claims that a new Christian course is underway, that ideology has acquired a key role again, and that it is forcing tactical aspects into the background?

[Antall] I have already replied to this Christian course; this is simply stupidity. I cannot add anything to this. Anyone who examines the contemporary Christian democratic parties or these political trends in Western Europe and the same endeavors in our country, apart from small extremist groups, will not even think of these questions. [passage omitted]

The other thing is the relations between church and state. We are thinking in terms of a free church and a free state, for the term: separation of church and state, itself sounds wrong. We are of the opinion that churches, after decades of slander, should be guaranteed the conditions for operation. [passage omitted]

When we speak about church property, we do not speak about a reprivatization element. It does not differ from the compensation principle regarding all society. [passage omitted]

[Kerekes] Prime Minister, I have time for only one more question. Let me return now to where we started. The second year has started and, according to the forecasts, this will be by all means the most difficult year of this four-year period; plenty of conflicts can be expected; and while inflation should be slowed down, rising unemployment might carry serious dangers of explosion, especially if this is exaggerated a bit. Will you, will the government have enough strength, in contrast with your predecessors, to resist the endeavors which would render impossible the change of system and, let us say, the future, too?

[Antall] I am very pleased with this question, because this indicates that within the last 15 years of the previous regime, within the structure of that regime, too, the processes and issues that arose clearly indicated the need for a change of structure. The change in the world in these decades made it impossible for production branches and industrial sectors to be maintained in the form they had been. They simply swept each such question, any trial of transformation, under the carpet and tried to bridge this with foreign loans and everything else. Obviously it also contributed to the country's indebtedness that already unproductive production branches were financed from these and, fearing a social explosion and its political consequences, they did not implement the transformation.

It is a realistic danger and a realistic contradiction whether the people of the country can accept the trials that go with the transformation. It is a case of a seriously ill patient—the country's economy and the whole production structure of the country—and when this seriously ill person is being healed, then the operation can be especially painful. The treatment includes serious side effects and serious trials. The question in this case, however, is whether one is angry with those who caused the illness, or simply recognizes how that disease developed as a result of epidemics or infections, or whether one is angry with those who carry out the operation and do their utmost to save his life and contribute to his recovery, if I may use a medical comparison.

Thus I believe that those who are now playing with social difficulties and social tension are just like those who are playing with political ideas, political propaganda, demagogy, and everything else. This is particularly dangerous when there is a race in the country in the representation of interests, and everyone believes the more one says the more popular one becomes. I believe that the political parties, the legislature, public opinion, and the press

must understand that freedom, the preservation of rights, constitutionality, and also the stability of the country remain and must be looked after. By overthrowing this government, or the next, or any future one without allowing it to implement the structural transformation it must implement—we did indeed announce it and said what it would mean—Hungary will not manage to rise into the group of the leading, or at least the average, European nations. If it does not implement this, then it will be marching toward the Third World. For this reason we have no other way, no other possibility but to implement this structural transformation, despite everyone who is playing here with passions and political slogans. [passage omitted]

Antall Interviewed on Foreign, Domestic Policies

LD2605100191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1805 GMT 25 May 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Gyorgy Balo in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Balo] Good evening. Thank you for coming. We have 30 minutes. [passage omitted]

What do you think of legislative democracy in the situation that Hungary now finds itself? [passage omitted] What are the possibilities, or what is the role of the opposition? How can the government's work be influenced?

[Antall] [passage omitted] The government does indeed have a normal majority, a majority needed for a functioning government, with all the disadvantages that go with a coalition. But I would add that a coalition also has advantages. [passage omitted] Now the opposition, which in Hungary today has about 40 percent of the mandates in the Assembly, cannot be regarded as a united opposition, so I do not think one could say that. Not many things connect these three opposition parties. In fact, it is the position of opposition that connects them. So I would not like to speak about the three opposition parties in one breath.

[Balo] What are the possibilities for the individual parties in the opposition, generally speaking?

[Antall] I think the three opposition parties have the opportunity to make rational proposals, rational criticism of the government's submissions and proposals. If one watches attentively the voting procedures, or when the partial voting takes place, there are 70-80 percent majorities. At times there is a 30 percent majority in the debate of a given draft bill. [passage omitted] When the whole bill comes up for adoption, then generally there comes a 5 percent majority, when the voting is according to parties. From this it follows that the opposition has the possibility both in the committees and in the Assembly, and also in the partial votes, to assert its viewpoints. But I must add that in every vote so far, in the debate of every draft bill so far, the opposition's viewpoints, or the opposition's usable and justified proposals, have been taken into consideration by the government and the government coalition. Anyone is free to analyze this. [passage omitted]

[Balo] Do you see anywhere in the opposition any virtues which in your judgment are missing from your government, but which you would like it to have?

[Antall] Well, if I must list such virtues, one such virtue could be professional competence, or outspokenness, or political consistency. [passage omitted] In the matter of professional competence, I do not see a hair's breadth more in the opposition than in the government. [passage omitted] The other thing is outspokenness—this follows from the position of the opposition. This mostly applies to the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], which partly comes from the FIDESZ's style, the age of its members. The Socialist Party has been very able to combine political impediments [gatlasok], to a certain extent, particularly in the early days. It knows well how to turn to profit its pose of practiced politician as opposed to the poor amateurs who are now governing in this situation. Of course, there is one thing we do not know, which is why the country got into this difficult situation, if everything could be so wisely foreseen. All the good and wise advice we are getting: Why could they not have given it before? I always wonder about this when I listen to them.

[Balo] [passage omitted] One has the impression that while it is natural that in a coalition government there are all kinds of pressures, and all kinds of extremes, I still feel that you are exposed to much more pressure than is acceptable to you, or than you are used to, or than is desirable, which probably consumes a very big part of your working time. [passage omitted] Under these circumstances, do you have any energy left for really critical and objective self and government analysis?

[Antall] I think I devote enough time to both self and government analysis. But I would be much happier if we were living in times, and perhaps if I had to govern in times, when many things could go by themselves, which today do not go by themselves. It is also true that a first government in such a new situation as the one we are in requires a great deal of time. It places on me many tasks that represent coordination between political parties; balance must be kept in a coalition.

[Balo] Even for a prime minister this is very delicately put, this coordination. I think this must mean putting on the brakes, reducing the extremes and such things. Is that not so?

[Antall] Well, I think it depends what we mean by this. Reductions of extremes—I do not think that is how one should put it. It is not within the parties and not within the government parties—moreover, I am adamant that it not within the legislature—that there are extremes, extreme phenomena that is. As far as the extremes or more extreme persons within the government coalition are concerned, well, naturally a government head must strive there to see that a center policy is always asserted.

At all events I consider myself suited, if I may say so, to assert the center policy. In every political party the centers frequently understand one another much more—I can say this even of the opposition—than the parties understand the extremes within the parties.

[Balo] [passage omitted] Do you have evolved tactics and strategy concepts, in case there should occur within one of the parties of the government coalition developments that would make cooperation with them difficult or unacceptable to you?

[Antall] I do, but I do not speak about these.

[Balo] I am not going to ask you what they are. The question is, do they exist? So in theory, there does exist such tactics and strategy?

[Antall] Naturally. In politics one must prepare for every eventuality, and one cannot disregard the eventualities.

[Balo] In your judgment, how does Hungary's system of international relations, her international situation in general, her international circumstances, stand today compared to one year ago?

[Antall] It is my conviction that Hungary's system of international relations is much better than one year ago. Part and parcel of this is that nobody questions the fact that the previous government, and the previous government policy as well, did not achieve better results in the area of foreign policy than it did in the area of domestic policy or the economy. [as heard] So Hungary's foreign political judgement was better from the outset than her judgement in the other areas, and the country had certain relations. But if someone implies that what has happened in this one year was simply a continuation of the one before, and that it does not represent a qualitatively new system of relations, he is making a mistake. On the one hand, people say this who wish to affirm the former policy, or who try to minimize our results even at the cost of describing it as a continuation of what went before.

[Balo] Mr. Prime Minister, I am not sure that these questions justify the concluding remarks you from time to time add to your replies. That is not what I had in mind, when you added that those who think this are wrong.

[Antall] [words indistinct] I said this in general, as one does hear these things. I must say unequivocally and positively that today Hungary's system of international relations, from the United States to Japan, in Europe—including, no matter how strange that may seem, the Soviet Union as well—are much better than they were earlier.

[Balo] Yes. First of all one would like to know whether Hungary, with regard to the future of her system of international relations, has a real strategy formulated, in whatever way. The other thing is that if this is really the way you say, then why is it that—at least this is my impression, and perhaps it is subjective—you deal with international issues fairly actively, and with much greater strength, attention, and concentration than before? You travel. Even if you are not the daily performer of foreign policy, you are in many senses its daily influence. As you have mentioned the Soviet Union, I must ask why it took a year before the first high-level personal contact with the Soviet Union came about.

[Antall] First, regarding foreign policy, I did not just now begin to deal with foreign policy, therefore it is not only now that my interest in foreign policy has grown. Foreign policy and international issues have always interested me, even before a system change occurred here. After all, if I had not followed with attention the past decades, whether in foreign policy or any other relation—moreover I could say even in the professional sense—then it would have been difficult to get into it. That is one thing. The other thing is that from the first moment of being in government, I considered it a determining factor that the picture of the new Hungary, that of her system of international relations, must be placed on new foundations, on wide-ranging foundations. Her situation as a non-communist country must be transformed, and we must present ourselves with an entirely new system of relations, in such a way that we are accepted as an equal partner by the United States and Western Europe; that they should trust us, because this trust is a condition of our acceptance, be it in regard to technology, starting with the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] list, or any other issue; and that we should carry our appropriate weight. This, then, belongs to this category.

The other thing is that, obviously, with the development of technology, it has become one of the characteristics of the 20th century. Let us just think of the institution of the summit meeting, or let us think of the relations that have evolved since World War II. The determining of foreign policy and the leading role in foreign policy have generally become much more the task of the government heads than earlier. What is abnormal is if the government heads do not have an interest in foreign policy or judgement in foreign policy. [passage omitted] So, simply by virtue of the fact that contacts, the world, have become transformed, it has become necessary for prime ministers, government heads, to play a much bigger role in foreign policy.

[Balo] Even so, I think that you play an even bigger role than this, and no doubt you have your reasons.

[Antall] Well, it is possible that someone is interested in foreign policy, and believes that in the country's leadership foreign policy must be given a much bigger weight—and for a small country it is a vital issue. For Hungary, foreign policy and every step of foreign policy that is taken has at the same time a domestic political value as well. A big country can pursue a bad foreign policy; it cannot cause a catastrophe in its domestic policy and in its economic policy. A big country can afford the luxury of making foreign political faux pas. A small country cannot make foreign political faux pas; it cannot make mistakes in fundamental issues, because that will have an effect on its entire economic and political system.

This is particularly important for Hungary in our sensitive geopolitical situation and in the transition period. So I consider it one of the most important and one of the gravest issues of my responsibility as head of government—whether from a security viewpoint or from any other viewpoint—to follow foreign political issues directly and attentively.

As for the last point of the question, the matter of Soviet-Hungarian relations, I do not know why we should put it like this, that the first high-level Soviet-Hungarian meeting only took place one year later. In June 1990, when the Warsaw Pact's political consultative body was in session, and where I found myself in the bizarre situation and interesting experience of presiding at and opening the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Council—which I had never thought of in all my life—there I already had a meeting at the highest level...

[Balo, interrupting] No doubt you know yourself that I was not thinking of that. [passage indistinct]

[Antall] ...with President Gorbachev, independently of the Warsaw Pact. We held a separate meeting there with President Gorbachev. It was an entirely bilateral agreement, or rather bilateral meeting; moreover, just look and see, a fairly long bilateral discussion. The next day we held a long discussion with Prime Minister Ryzhkov, that is, last year. Afterwards, in Paris, we held a long bilateral discussion again with President Gorbachev at the Soviet Embassy, quite independently of the Paris summit; and in London with Prime Minister Pavlov. So if I take only this, I have held two lengthy discussions with the Soviet head of state. Apart from this, I also had separate meetings with the Soviet foreign minister; he was here to see me [as heard]; I had a separate discussion with the deputy foreign minister. Therefore, the most one can say here is that this was the first time that the Hungarian foreign minister had been to Moscow, and he had talks. But it cannot be said that the other ministers, and all those ministers who in the past had to discuss concrete tasks, have had very intensive contacts. Incidentally, the foreign minister has also met his Soviet colleagues on several occasions—only not in Moscow.

[Balo] Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to change the topic—we have very little time left—with the remark that your loyalty toward your government and toward your foreign minister is impressive. But we may also mention the government members.

[Antall] It is by no means connected with the fact that he [Jeszenszky] was one of my students, and that he is the husband of one of my nieces. So I believe that this has nothing to do with it; there is no connection.

[Balo] [passage omitted] Some people in Hungary have the impression that your government's—to use the old phrase, Kadar policy; to use the new phrase, your policy of personal selection—is if nothing else widely open to question. I would not like to go into concrete cases, but the way, the method, in which certain people are removed, or the method in which certain people are chosen, in many people's opinion is if nothing else open to question. A lot of people are of the view that it has not been possible to find people of appropriate ability in this government, or in the whole state apparatus in general.

[Antall] Well, I do not share this opinion. I think that every government has stronger and weaker members from a political or professional viewpoint. But I do not share this opinion with regard to personnel policy. In my judgement, the very fact that the government has several non-party members as well indicates that it did not occur merely on a party-political basis, or that the leaders of the winning parties got in—that is, those who take part in the government coalition, but in particular also economic politicians and experts. So I do not believe that. The other thing is that in the selection of the government, no part was played by these much-mentioned personal viewpoints, or I do not know what other viewpoints. Insofar as they did, it is obvious that there has been no prime minister or government head in the world who selects his government from his personal opponents. That happens, too, sometimes. He selects those in whom on the one hand he thinks he has confidence, and on the other hand individuals are selected on the basis of inter-party agreement. I did not select the ministers from among my fishing companions.

[Balo] In your government, if I just look at economic policy, there can even now be found two tendencies which I feel are opposed to one another on many points, and at the same time very markedly represented. Is this a good thing?

[Antall] In my view, if there are contrasting economic political concepts within a government, that is not in itself a catastrophe. It makes it possible for certain issues to be discussed from several points of view prior to a decision, and for the possibility of several solutions to arise. One thing is essential: that when the decision is made, afterward they should implement in a united way that which has been decided. I cannot see anything wrong in it at all if the leaders of the various portfolios, representing partly their own portfolio and the branches represented by their own portfolios, profess different views. Well, within a government there is just as much of a debate in progress; it is just as necessary to coordinate interests. Let us suppose that in the course of the preparation of a budget, 240 billion forints have to be pared off from the demands. Well, there will be very hard clashes even within a government.

[Balo] Right, but of course one has the impression that these contrasting views appear also outside of the government, and at times one cannot know which are those of the government, or which is the official government standpoint.

[Antall] I think that with regard to the economic policy as a whole, or the financial policy as a whole, one cannot speak about this today. Within every administration, in every government in the world, there are differences of views in economic policy. If a finance minister—and these are not issues connected with any Mihaly Kupa, or with a Ferenc Rabar before him—in Hungary, according to the Hungarian

Government structure, the reason the finance minister has a determining role in shaping economic policy strategy is because the finance minister is responsible for the country's budget, and in the financial sphere monetary viewpoints, being enforcible, along with the main strategic issues of economic policy. Obviously, a branch minister has different viewpoints, he fights for his own branch.

[Bako] [passage omitted] Mr. Prime Minister, one has the impression that your government's declared and proclaimed policy is strikingly not being asserted in various areas of our life. One of these is generally the matter of financing culture and the arts in Hungary, and the matter of Hungarian culture in general. [passage omitted] The other matter is this certain enterprise and small-scale enterprise outlook. You say how good it would be if more and more people could be entrepreneurs, and yet one also has the impression that you do not do enough to avoid the situation whereby a very few people get very rich, while very many have very small chances.

[Antall] [passage omitted] Culture costs money the world over, and it produces relatively little. As a result of this, the possibility of financing culture always depends on the economic life as a whole, and on what budget support the state can give. Because when culture appears as a commercial product, then in general, with regard to its level, unfortunately it is always for the weaker level that it represents a commercial profit. So in the area of financing culture there are serious difficulties in the country's economic situation today. This applies to public education, to artistic life, just as to everything else. So obviously a country cannot distribute more than it has at its disposal. This is very serious, and one of our major concerns is how we can distribute this small amount of money at our disposal.

The other thing with regard to the program of our political parties: It is true that these parties have joined together—and their program also says this—to try and create ever-wider middle strata. The creation of the middle strata is at all events connected with the entrepreneurial sphere. Now in such a transition period, unfortunately it is a concomitant of enterprise that in many cases the original rules or anomalies of capital accumulation are asserted, because market mechanisms are not evolved; the observance of constitutionality has not yet become a binding principle to everyone. So it is in this sense that I see difficulties.

[Bako] What would make you, either now or later, really happy?

[Antall] That I should feel that we have managed to carry out the transformation, and that I could not only speak about what encouraging signs Hungarian economic life has in the growth of currency reserves; that I could not only speak about how the outside world judges us, and that Hungary is the country that is starting out with the best chances in this region. In other words, that I should not only speak about this, but that everyday life, and people, ordinary people, could say: Yes, this has succeeded, and we are living better than before. Still, I feel that in Hungary, for ordinary people, and for the people's masses, we have not resolved their daily difficulties; until they can buy their children cheap shoes, while pensioners have problems with paying their electric and gas bills, it will be very hard for me to be in a happy mood. [passage omitted]

Antall Assesses European Issues, USSR Ties

LD2505125991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1905 GMT 24 May 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, at the beginning a lot of people thought that you would pursue a Germany-orientated foreign policy because you speak good German. Similarly, they thought President Arpad Goncz sympathized with the Anglo-Saxons. What is your view on this?

[Antall] I believe this cannot be said in any case. It is true I delivered my speech in German at the Paris summit, but this does not mean orientation, especially not exclusive orientation. I believe that Hungarian foreign policy has to be manifold, but it cannot be denied that German-Hungarian relations are outstandingly important. Our interest in Germany is simply derived from our Central European existence, our traditional relations and the fact that Germany is our first trading partner in the world. In the previous period, West Germany was the second and East Germany was the third. This is a fact.

The second important country on the continent with which we strengthened our relations was France, as 20 percent of investments in Hungary are French, and we would like to double this. Italy is similarly very important, as the Pentagonal which has now become a Hexagonal at our initiation with the acceptance of Poland, shows our interest in Italy. We can hardly be accused of not having an interest in Britain and the United States.

[Reporter] If I am not mistaken, at the talks the future of Europe was mentioned too. President Mitterrand imagines the future of Europe as an interstate confederation, while you mentioned a confederation of peoples. Is there a contradiction between the two?

[Antall] In President Mitterrand's conception the European confederation means that apart from existing, presently operating European organizations a wide confederation of European states should be created—not however with some kind of great new administration and bureaucracy—to which all European countries which want to belong can. It arises as a confederation of those states. He has emphasized the possibility of crossing borders and contact between individual countries.

Naturally, I consider this a good solution with the addition that such a confederation has to be not only a confederation of states but also a confederation of the nations. So the European confederation provides a good framework of possibilities for nations that are divided by state borders or

ethnic groups that are artificially divided by state borders to enjoy the advantages of coexistence in the confederation. The recent Kurdish problem, to give an example outside Europe, shows how tragic it is when peoples are cut off, and what unsoluble problems derive from this, and at the same tinme what difficulties arise when they want to change, if anywhere they want to change at all.

[Reporter] What did President Mitterrand answer to this question? In the interview we prepared with him I had the feeling that he finds the realization of this possible only at a later time.

[Antall] The two do not contradict each other. If we simply foresee a European confederation that has such open borders, then automatically it is a confederation of nations too. In my view the two overlap, and at the same time it means a solution to the national minority question too; of course in itself it is not enough. In this respect I find it exceptionally important that France's interest in Central Europe has grown to such an extent in recent years, especially in the past two years, which is very important. The other point is that France has pushed Hungary to the first row in the line of its central and Central-Eastern European allies, as President Mitterrand emphasized, changing previous traditions. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The Soviet foreign minister recently said that a new era is starting in Soviet-Hungarian relations. Do you see it that same way? If I am right, you will soon meet President Gorbachev. What will you say to him?

[Antall] The breakthrough in Soviet-Hungarian relations, and the new relationship, means that Hungary is a sovereign country on the territory of which Soviet troops can not stay any longer, this is the basic question. The other point is that we do not belong to the military bloc of the Warsaw Pact and we do not belong to the CEMA. The third point is that we do not belong to the Soviet Union's system of dependence neither militarily, economically, nor in relation to our sovereignty. Relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary should be based on the equality of rights and sovereignty.

Prime Minister Interviewed on EEC Membership

PM2805114691 Paris LIBERATION in French 22 May 91 p 28

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Pierre Haski in Paris on 21 May]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Haski] How did Francois Mitterrand respond to your desire for EEC membership in 1997 or 1998?

[Antall] I think I received a positive response. France supports the signing of an association agreement between Hungary and the EEC and, at a later stage, full membership. Association can be expected as early as 1992 with the treaty being signed this fall. That leaves only a few outstanding questions relating to imports of agricultural products. Hungarian membership can be expected between 1995 and the end of the century, after that of Austria and Sweden who will join after 1993. The years 1997 and 1998 are a reasonable medium-term aim to which nobody has made any objection.

[Haski] On what will the transition from association to membership depend?

[Antall] On two conditions. First on the direction which the Community countries will take, second on Hungary's ability to adapt to the modern market economy. The most important thing for us is to know how to successfully accomplish this adaptation during the association period.

[Haski] Are the level of Western public aid and private investment adequate to meet the needs?

[Antall] I would be following a bad economic policy if I was satisfied with it. Nonetheless, more than half of the investments made in Eastern Europe have been made in Hungary. Twenty percent of those investments came from France, but more than half come from the United States and the Japanese are increasing their presence. It is important for Western Europe to consolidate its position.

[Haski] Did you discuss the "architecture of Europe" with Francois Mitterrand, and do you support his idea of a confederation?

[Antall] We discussed it last year. The EC must represent the hard core of Europe with the Council of Europe providing a legal framework in which states corresponding to minimum criteria in terms of human rights and minority rights must be represented. Cooperation can be extended to include another circle of countries, which may be useful. All cooperation is reasonable, aside from that which runs counter to European integration. The establishment of a "cordon sanitaire" isolating certain regions would not receive our agreement.

[Haski] Do you fear a "vacuum" in Eastern Europe in the security sphere?

[Antall] With the Paris CSCE Charter (November 1990—LIBERATION editor's note), the disarmament negotiations, and the continuation of the "Helsinki process," the bases for a European security system have been laid. However, NATO is one of the key elements in European security, as is the American presence in Europe. A system of global guarantees is still lacking.

[Haski] What can the Eastern and Western Europeans do to avert a civil war in Yugoslavia?

[Antall] It is very difficult to intervene from outside. The cornerstone of principles must be formed of human rights, the right to self-determination, minority rights, and the demands of democratization. Forces on any side which aimed at the restoration of dictatorship must not be able to be consolidated. It is very difficult to tell the Slovenes or Croatians what they must do, but it would be

possible to find acceptable principles, like a confederation of sovereign states, an internal democratic structure. But who knows whether the process will go in that direction or not?

[Haski] Your foreign minister is going to Moscow to negotiate on a Soviet-Hungarian treaty in which you reject the security clause. What kind of agreement do you want?

[Antall] We want good neighborly relations with the USSR for obvious geographical and political reasons. A bilateral treaty must be a good treaty, and I am in no hurry to sign it. It must be unequivocal and able to be respected. We hope to find a formula which can satisfy our demands for sovereignty and integration in Europe and which will be reassuring to the USSR.

[Haski] What do you think of Gorbachev's request to be invited to the Group of Seven meeting in London in July?

[Antall] It is up to the industrialized countries to give an answer. But if that enables the Soviet Union to repay its debts to Hungary ($2 billion) and to become solvent again, we would even be capable of showing a little enthusiasm....

Jeszenszky Interviewed on Talks in Moscow

LD2605174591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0630 GMT 26 May 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The ultimate aim of Geza Jeszenszky's visit to Moscow was to place Hungarian-Soviet relations on new bases, to terminate subordination and superiority.

[Szabo] At the first meeting of the Soviet and Hungarian foreign ministers you could learn about Bessmertnykh's picture of Eastern Europe. How does the Soviet Union view Eastern Europe, especially Hungary, through Bessmertnykh's eyes? How much is Eastern Europe, and within that Hungary, worth to the Soviet Union today?

[Jeszenszky] I am certain that they regard it as an important region, because on the one hand it is a border region. Now as Soviet relations with China are settling, it is obvious that relations with the western border regions are just as important, if not more important. Economically, this region is just as important for the Soviet Union as for the region that there be an advantageous, but intensive economic relationship with the Soviet Union instead of the, let us say, economic dependance.

Hungary attaches particular importance to the Soviet Union. This obviously is not because of the size of the country, but the fact that regarding its economic results Hungary is really promising from several aspects, the most promising in the region, and at the same time Hungary has always been a kind of model for the Soviet Union—at least during the past 10 years—something like an experimental area. It is a particularly important issue, therefore, for the Soviet Union how these processes succeed; what the consequences of these changes are.

Let me quote: The example of Hungary confirms that the aims the countries of the Eastern European region, among them the Soviet perestroyka, have been following are right. I think that this also means that the Soviet Union has made a choice from certain alternatives, although it might be a somewhat exaggerated conclusion, but it is certain that what is happening in Hungary is not a dead end from the Soviet viewpoint either. Moreover, it also seems probably that they consider the Hungarian developments to be promising after all.

[Szabo] I read an evaluation about Geza Jeszenszky's visit to Moscow that he had opened a new chapter in the relations; however, I also read in another commentary that it had not brought any concrete results. What did you expect from this journey and what did you achieve?

[Jeszenszky] I, too, am of the view that it really did open a new chapter. Not because this is my achievement or that of the Soviet foreign minister, but this derives from the situation, from the fact that Hungary will regain its freedom of movement, and it will shape its relations with the Soviet Union at its own will. It is also important for the Soviet Union whether an entirely free, influence-free country can be a reliable partner and a reliable border zone for the Soviet Union. I think that this was the most important aspect of this meeting, because it has strengthened a good personal relationship that already existed on the basis of first impressions, and I have to say that my visit has strengthened the confidence of the Soviet leadership in Hungarian politics.

[Szabo] Was there mention of the debated issues of the basic agreement at the talks or is that the experts' business?

[Jeszenszky] Only very briefly, when Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh quoted the well-known words of the Hungarian prime minister, which many others profess as well in different wording, that the important thing is that we make a good agreement of content. The date is not that important. Well, if we had concluded this agreement now that would have been a spectacular thing, but it is more important that both countries are convinced that they can submit this agreement to their own legislatures, willingly and quietly.

[Szabo] What was your impression about the Soviet foreign minister? Is he an open man, a cunning diplomat? To what extent is the new thinking of Gorbachev typical of him?

[Jeszenszky] Bessmertnykh is a very disciplined, professional diplomat. He spent more than 10 years, perhaps even more, in Washington. This shows in his negotiating style, in his behavior. To me he was a very good partner in this respect, too. Not only because English was our common language, but I really got to know even closer a politician who, from many points of view, speaks the language that I generally hear in international life. He is not a man for whom one has to find some ulterior motive behind each of his thoughts. In his person I got to know a foreign minister faithful to perestroyka, and this must be reassuring for the whole world.

[Szabo] The last question is: How to go on? When will the Antall visit take place?

[Jeszenszky] I think that the relationship between the two countries can be regarded as so good that there is no need of fire extinguishing, and I also want to refer to the fact that the Soviet president and the Hungarian prime minister regularly exchange letters. Thus a formal meeting is not always the most important thing. Exchanges of messages, telephone conversations, are entirely sufficient.

Jeszenszky on Soviet Relations, 'Disintegration'

LD2705112691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 27 May 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified announcer in the radio studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Guests in our studio are Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Laszlo Timar, head of a department in the Ministry of International Economic Relations. [passage omitted] This weekend the U.S. defense secretary said in an interview that the Soviet Union continues to constitute the greatest danger to peace in Europe. True, this is not because of the Soviet Union's attempts to rule, but because of its anticipated falling apart. What is your opinion, Mr. Minister, after your talks in Moscow?

[Jeszenszky] I think that in the Soviet Union, and in some other regions too, a two-day process is taking place. There are indeed several signs of some kind of disintegration, but at the same time on the European scale we see integration, not only in the case of the EC and the countries wanting to join it, but also in the Soviet Union and its republics striving for "Europeaness" and association of some kind. Thus, these two tendencies—disintegration and integration—are parallel. The important thing is, I think, that sovereign partners able and wanting to assert the right of self-determination can, from now on, enter into partnership with one another and establish steady relations with one another of their own free will.

[Announcer] Will the Soviet leadership be able to control processes within its borders after the troop withdrawals?

[Jeszenszky] Here I can see no direct connection between troop withdrawal and inside processes. In the wake of democracy and freedom long suppressed desires and emotions arise, including exaggerated and impossible desires as well as entirely just attempts. I think that if the Soviet central government can reach an agreement with the republics' new, rather democratically elected leadership, these processes will not represent such a danger. These will take place in a peaceful, constitutional manner. Therefore, I believe that alongside democracy and freedom the assertion of responsibility can really bring about a satisfactory solution.

[Announcer] Hungary's fate, whether we liked it or not, always closely depended on the big neighbor. Can the new situation that is taking shape fully terminate this dependence politically and economically?

[Jeszenszky] Particularly in the economic sense the problem for Hungary in the last decades was that a very ill-proportioned trade or system of economic relations evolved which itself meant dependence irrespective of political factors. Let us just refer to energy dependence. Hungary too is striving for elimination of this situation. [passage omitted]

Whether we look at it from the economic or the political point of view, Hungary—which is situated in the center of Europe, and by now, as the 1945 demarkation line has disappeared, this has turned from geography into political reality—has to strive for a many-sided, well-balanced system of relations by all means. I have to say that there is good progress in it. Germany, Italy, and Austria—our traditional partners—have become even more important partners during the last decades. Furthermore, Western Europe—France, Great Britain—and the more distant regions—United States, Japan. With these countries our relations have been developing in a very promising way on political as well as economic levels. Therefore, I have to say that dependence will not be replaced by complete independence, but by interdependence typical of all developed states in Europe and the world.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

Problems in Trade With Soviet Union Discussed

LD2805225891 Budapest MTI in English 1356 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—Although Hungarian and Soviet companies concluded contracts worth 1,500 million dollars this year, the actual turnover remains far below that because of the scarcity of foreign exchange in the Soviet Union, Laszlo Timar, assistant undersecretary at the Ministry of Hungarian International Economic Relations, said at the opening of the Hungarian-Soviet economic days in Budapest.

Hungary has so far purchased 400 million dollars worth of goods from the Soviet Union and duly settled the bill. In contrast, the Soviet partners paid a mere 100 million dollars for the Hungarian deliveries worth 500 million dollars, Timar said. In the absence of payment guarantees, many hungarian companies had to suspend their deliveries to the Soviet Union.

Timar stressed that the difficulties emerged through no fault of the Hungarian side. Hungary can pay for the Soviet deliveries which are planned to amount to 1,500 million dollars this year. In a move to surmount the difficulties, the two countries may temporarily return to the clearing system and lay more emphasis on barter. In the recent talks, both governments were prepared to restore at least 60 per cent of the former trade turnover. The Russian Federation has promised to hand over to

Hungary a list of the goods that could be delivered in barter in the value of 600-700 million dollars.

Soviet Trade Envoy Addresses Budapest Chamber

LD2805205291 Budapest MTI in English 1819 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 28 (MTI)—"Talks on possible trade should already be held with the republics, there is no need to wait for the Soviet federation agreement," said Yuriy Chugunov, the Soviet trade representative in Budapest, in the Budapest Chamber of Industry and Trade on Tuesday.

He stressed that the problems existing in Hungarian-Soviet co-operation are temporary, and the speedy resolution of these is determined by the stabilization of the Soviet Union's economic situation, and by common efforts with the East European partners. Chugunov recalled that an economic and trade agreement has already been concluded between Hungary and the Russian Federation, and a similar agreement will hopefully be signed shortly with the Ukraine, too. Agreements with the Latvian and the Estonian Republics have been initialed, and talks are in progress with the Belorussian and the Kazakh Republics.

Antall Comments on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU2805113191 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 26 May 91

[Text] Budapest, 26 May (MTI)—"With this commemoration, we are not justifying the war or identifying ourselves with the then alliance, we are rather paying tribute to the memory of those who, carrying out orders, died senselessly in the struggles," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at the inauguration of a monument erected in the memory of the 12,000 war victims of Nyiregyhaza, a city in north eastern Hungary, on Sunday.

"Hungary became an ally of Hitlerite Germany and then a victim of Yalta under the pressure of circumstances, due to its geographical location and geopolitical predestination," he added.

The prime minister emphasized that after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops the Hungarians, as a civilized people, would invariably pay due respect to the graves and monuments of the Russian soldiers who died on the territory of Hungary. In doing so, they are also motivated by the desire that the Soviet Union displays a similar attitude towards the graves of the Hungarian victims who died in the battlefields, the POW camps and the forced labour camps.

"After regaining its sovereignty and being freed from its handcuffs on June 30, Hungary will reach its hands out in friendship towards the Soviet Union," Antall said. "Hungary strives for maintaining good relations with all its neighbours including the Soviet Union. They can rely on our intention, Hungary's policy lays stress on being trustworthy and calculable," Antall said in Nyiregyhaza.

National Foundation Established; Goals Explained

AU2405112391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 May 91 p 5

["M.P."-signed report: "A 15-Member Advisory Board Will Make Decisions"]

[Text] Some 950 members have paid 55 million forints and $30,000 into the National Foundation so far. The Advisory Board of the National Foundation was elected at the founding session held in the Economic Sciences University in Budapest on 18 May, with the participation of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

The members of the Advisory Board are: Sandor Szokolay, Levente Szorenyi, Kata Beke, Laszlo Medgyassay, Istvan Fodor, Emese Ugrin, Pal Dragon, Ferenc Kosa, Tivadar Berkovits, Gabor Vasuta, Laszlo Konya, Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Radvanyi, and Peter Ruffy. The director of the bank that is dealing with the money is also a member of the Advisory Board. We asked Film Director Ferenc Kosa about the goals of the Foundation.

"As formulated in the founding statement, the National Foundation has four main goals. One: To help those who are on the brink of poverty as a result of the economic restructuring. Two: To help general and high school students, as well as university students and to increase the level of education. Three: To instruct young experts at home and abroad. Four: To support initiatives, intellectual work groups, and creative workshops that take it upon themselves to preserve and develop our national unity and national culture to a European level"—Ferenc Kosa said.

Skubiszewski Addresses Communications Forum

LD2805191491 Warsaw PAP in English 1541 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 27—The International Press Telecommunications Committee (IPTC) started its annual general meeting here today to discuss new technologies in transmission of press information, development of satellite communications and cooperation of information agencies.

The meeting—held for the first time in Eastern Europe—has been organized by the Polish Press Agency PAP and its President and Editor-in-Chief Ignacy Rutkiewicz.

The debates will last till May 30.

While addressing the IPTC general meeting here today Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski focussed on new forms of regional ties and stated that Warsaw, Budapest and Prague will conclude bilateral agreements which will replace old treaties signed within the Soviet bloc framework, but they will not sign any joint agreement on political cooperation.

Skubiszewski also told the meeting that Poland attaches great importance to the Warsaw-Budapest-Prague cooperation. The success of such cooperation will be a proof of the three countries' credibility as new partners of the West, he said.

Minister Skubiszewski also emphasized that Poland's participation in the Pentagonale Group (involving Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary Italy and Yugoslavia) will be advantageous to all sides.

Stressing the importance of the Polish-German cooperation across the border, which should not, as he put it, be a border between wealth and poverty, stability and uncertainty, he also pointed to the beginnings of a tripartite cooperation in the border zone between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany. Such regional cooperation should be supported by the European communities, he said.

He also mentioned new ties that are being created between Soviet republics and countries of Eastern Europe and a pioneer role played in that process by Poland which attained some concrete results when compared with the cautious stand of the west.

In Skubiszewski's opinion it is necessary to maintain close contacts with the Soviet Union as a whole, but a time has come to develop friendly and harmonious relations with those Soviet republics which have declared their sovereignty and are striving for certain autonomy in the international arena.

Bielecki Addresses CSCE Cultural Symposium

LD2905061191 Warsaw PAP in English 0430 GMT 29 May 91

[Text] Krakow, May 28—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said that "reintegration with Europe is our future" as he greeted the participants in a CSCE symposium that opened in Krakow, southern Poland, on Tuesday.

The meeting, called at the initiative of Poland and Austria, is the first cultural forum of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, free of divisions.

The symposium, devoted to the cultural heritage, is attended by representatives of the governments of thirty-four states-signatories of the CSCE Final Act, and Albania.

UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor Zaragoza and General Secretary of the Council of Europe Catherine Lalumiere have come to Krakow to take part in the meeting, so have officials of non-government organizations from European countries, Canada and the U.S.

In a message sent to the participants in the symposium, Polish President Lech Walesa wrote that there was "a real chance to welcome a united Europe free of political and economic barriers, free of prejudices and conflicts."

Ministers Adopt Pension Law, Border Decrees

LD2805211591 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The Council of Ministers adopted on Tuesday [28 May] a draft law authorizing the Polish president to ratify a Polish-German agreement on social benefits signed in Warsaw on December 8, 1990.

The new regulations, which are in tune with the solutions practised in Western countries, will be based on the principle of exports of benefits, that is a person who has acquired pension rights in his homeland and then emigrated will receive his benefits in the country of his settlement.

The government also adopted three decrees on the functioning of border guards, including the conditions of using weapons by them.

Under the regulations border guards will not be allowed to use guns while chasing people who try to illegally cross the border. There are also plans to open four border crossings in airports and one on the coast.

The Council of Ministers resolved to draw a 100-million-dollar credit from the World Bank for financing agriculture development project. The 17-year loan with a five-year grace period is to be used mainly for financing the development of food processing industry and the cooperative banking system.

Cabinet members also proposed amendments to the law on sanitary conditions of foodstuffs aimed at introducing stricter regulations, among other things, on the admissible levels of chemicals used for fertilizing that remain in food.

Union Protest, Threat of 'Chaos' Viewed

AU2905072991 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 May 91 p 1

[Adam Michnik commentary: "A State Crisis?"]

[Text] The transportation workers strike that has paralyzed Warsaw calls to mind a different period—July 1980. Then, the transportation workers strike heralded a great breakthrough: the end of the Gierek era and the end of the monopoly on power enjoyed by the Polish United Workers Party. What does today's strike herald?

The nationwide "Solidarity" day of protest signifies more than the closing of the protective umbrella that was shielding the government. It signifies helplessness and weakness; the absence of an alternative reform program; a lack of ideas concerning the union's role in the process of change; a return to the patterns of conduct that were learned during the 1980-81 conflict with the communist government; and the aggressive rhetoric of issuing demands. All these activities are directed at a government that enjoys the support of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the president of the Republic of Poland.

Responsibility for this crisis should probably be apportioned between the trade unions and those in power. The collapse of talks and the success of the protest action attest to the government's inability to negotiate a compromise and to build a consensus around the policies of Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz. The sacrifices that are an inevitable accompaniment to the policy of reform are only possible if there is social consent. That consent is increasingly lacking. It may be the case that fundamental adjustments to the government's policies are called for, but in a democratic state those are not to be achieved by means of strikes and demonstrations in the streets.

The Sejm of the Republic of Poland has finally decided that the forms that protest actions and strikes staged by farmers can take will not be defined by legislation, but will be determined by the decisions that farming trade unions make. This means, for example, that it will be completely legal to block roads if such action proceeds from a recommendation made by "Rural Solidarity" or the Farming Circles. The effects of this may also prove to be alarming for the peasant farmers' politicians.

Poland possessed three great trump cards for the transition from communism to a democratic order.

The first was the philosophy of the "roundtable," that is, the belief that people with the most diverse convictions and political origins can come together around a program of change. The second trump card was "Solidarity," the great movement that brought together people from different generations and backgrounds, people with different life histories, and within the framework of the movement they were united by the idea of a democratic order and the belief that "Solidarity" is more important than particularist interests.

There was also a third opportunity—the enormous authority, including political authority, of the Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II, who for many years was the highest moral authority for the Poles. This third trump card has in some sense been wasted. The philosophy of the "roundtable" collapsed in the face of the pressure that was brought to bear by slogans about acceleration and democracy. The idea of Solidarity did not survive the "war at the top," and the developments of the past six months have resulted in the Church ceasing to be the sole arbiter, witness, and guardian of moral values and in its becoming a party in the conflict about the political form that the Polish state should take.

The "war at the top" has once again paved the way for great social conflicts and for populist demagogy, which is so characteristic of the admirers of Stan Tyminski. Poland is threatened with chaos. There is danger that yet another reform government will collapse. It is difficult to think about these things without a feeling of concern.

Greater Romania Party Issues Communique on Goals

AU2805194791 Bucharest ROMANIA MARE in Romanian 17 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Communique issued by the Initiative Committee of the Greater Romania Party on the establishment of the Greater Romania Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Romanians! Our motherland is living today through a dramatic situation, a humiliation of our national dignity, and a deep crisis in all sectors of activity. Our economy is in a state of collapse, our public life is disturbed by revolting anomalies and illegalities, our public institutions have lost their role and function, cultural activity is treated superficially, there is almost no authority, political life is run by amateurs, and the state apparatus is not realistic or efficient.

In the general climate prevailing in Europe, a climate characterized by the disintegration of the communist totalitarian system, there are forces that are interested in increasing the state of chaos in Romania. Unfortunately, history repeats itself: Just like in the years preceding the outbreak of World War II, when Romania's leaders and our traditional allies failed to guarantee our national unity and sovereignty, a similar dangerous attack is directed today against our national existence and the integrity of our state. In this alarming situation for the present and the future of Romania, the initiative committee for the support of our newspaper and our foundation decided to create the Greater Romania Party. The establishment of this party aims at fighting the policy of dividing the energies and forces of our nation, estranging the national values and historical traditions of the Romanian people, and insulting the simple and poor masses of people. At the same time, one should clearly differentiate between the negative heritage of the communist regime and everything positive and durable that has been achieved by three generations of Romanians in the 45 years after the war. Therefore, the new party proposes that our whole social, economic, political, and spiritual life be based on healthy foundations, with a policy of national reconciliation and the self- made development of Romania as central elements.

The domination of civic life in Romania by improvised leaders and sterile political formations who are incapable of understanding and solving the problems facing Romanian society today constitutes a grave danger for the survival of our country. The common people, Romanians from all strata of society, and from all the areas inhabited by ethnic groups do not count anymore—unfortunately—and they are just elements of political manipulation.

The Initiative Group for the Establishment of the Greater Romania Party wishes to establish a party of dignity, freedom, fraternity, and prosperity, mainly because the Romanian people have to cope today with unthinkable difficulties: unemployment, the uncontrolled escalation of inflation, inaccessible prices, the lack of a real social protection, the degradation of public institutions, the increase of corruption, violations of the law, and violence, an unprecedented increase in emigration—particularly of specialists—and with minimization and falsification of our national history, traditions, and culture. All these are happening while a constant denigratory campaign is carried out by the mass media.

Taking into consideration the very serious situation of our country, the Initiative Group of the Greater Romania Party proposes through its program and statute the following:

1. To defend by all possible means the integrity and sovereignty of the Romanian state, to fight the maneuvers of the antinational coalition that initiated and implemented scenarios for the destabilization and dismemberment of Romania, and to reestablish the Romanian people's dignity;

2. To ensure the transition to a realistic market economy and to optimize it by encouraging and protecting the indigenous Romanian capital, to fight the rapid inflation and the alienation of the Romanian people's wealth and the degradation of economic objectives that are being pursued or are close to completion, and to ensure a dignified standard of living for all citizens of our country;

3. To promote principles and norms based on the traditions of the Romanian school throughout the entire educational system, to increase the importance and value of educators, professors, and physicians—social categories that have been unjustifiably marginalized—to fully assert technical-scientific research and to ensure the participation without any restrictions in the world exchange of values;

4. To ensure the continuous increase of the Army's combat capacity in accordance with our national military doctrine and in accordance with our ancient traditions;

5. To consolidate the state of law, increase the role of justice, submit some truly democratic laws for endorsement and guarantee their firm application, eradicate the phenomenon of law breaking, and defend the life and goods of all citizens;

6. To establish a true national harmony in accordance with the values of Christianity and of the lofty humanist traditions of the Romanian people;

7. To establish mutually advantageous international alliances, which should ensure a dignified place for Romania, a place that it deserves in Europe and in the world, under conditions of total respect for our ideals of independence, integrity, and sovereignty.

The Initiative Committee for the Establishment of the Greater Romania Party proposes to rally around the important social and national desiderata an increasingly greater number of citizens who are interested in safeguarding the homeland in these crucial historical moments. Therefore, we want the gates of our party to be wide open to all those who want Romanians to feel like masters at home and not

humiliated by foreigners; we are calling on all categories of citizens: workers, peasants, intellectuals, young and old people, women, and men.

Soon, we will publish a series of reports in connection with the program and statute of our political formation as well as ways to join its ranks and organize branches throughout the country.

Fellow citizens, a period of one and a half years has elapsed since the December 1989 revolution. This is a sufficient amount of time for all people of good faith to realize that there are internal and external forces that are taking diabolical actions to annihilate Romania. There is a danger that everything our forefathers built in several thousand years of work and struggle, tears, sweat, and blood will be ruined now. We cannot tolerate anything like this, and the future generations will judge us very severely if we do not fulfill our duties and if we do not see to it that the dignity and the fundamental rights of Romanians are religiously respected. We do not promise you anything that is not attainable, we reject any kind of demagogy, and we will say as the golden generation of 1848 said: freedom can be lost because you can regain it; but if the language and nationality are destroyed, nothing can be done. We do not want to reach such a state! We will tell you honestly from the very beginning that it will be difficult, that we will have to work with all our might, in a regime of austerity imposed mainly from abroad, but we believe in the great virtues of this nation and in its power for moral regeneration.

Romanian brothers, we will never have politics other than the national politics. We are the successors of the national parties, which for more than a century have worked to build the country within its ancient borders. Come with us! No matter how difficult it is, something must be completely changed in Romania and the sun of justice will soon shine over this blessed country.

Thus help us God!

Tudor on Founding of Party

AU2805203891 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 May 91 p 5

[Interview with Corneliu Vadim Tudor, chief editor of ROMANIA MARE, by Anca Paduraru; place and date not given: "On Top of Some One Hundred and More Parties, Another Party 'Romania Mare'?"—first two paragraphs are ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] The communique published in ROMANIA MARE on the imminent founding of a party with the same name, Greater Romania, made us ask that magazine's chief editor Corneliu Vadim Tudor for further details.

Here is what we learned in connection with this:

[Paduraru] Who are the members of the new party?

[Vadim Tudor] The nucleus of this party are the journalists of ROMANIA MARE, which has become a mass publication. If you want names, you can write down: Eugen Barbu, Radu Theodoru, Mircea Musat, Mihai Ungheanu, and reserve Generals Theodor Paraschiv and Laurentiu Cupsa.

[Paduraru] Who supports it?

[Vadim Tudor] The more than 50,000 signatories who, for months on end, have given their endorsement to and defended the ROMANIA MARE review.

[Paduraru] What is the organizational stage of this grouping?

[Vadim Tudor] We have a 2-3 week respite before the new political grouping must register in court. We are now in the romantic stage of enthusiasm, when hundreds of people are visiting our headquarters to join the party. We have already started a project for organizing the party's regional branches, and we have received good news from the counties.

[Paduraru] To whom does this party address its program?

[Vadim Tudor] To all citizens with the right to vote, regardless of their political past, profession, religion, or nationality. You can infer from this that we are stretching a fraternal hand of reconciliation to all those desiring to serve the holy cause of the fatherland.

[Paduraru] What is the party's orientation?

[Vadim Tudor] We want to emphasize from the start that our primary orientation is republican, hence implicitly anti-monarchy. As can be seen from our publication's orientation thus far, we will militate for the stability of our state order and for the holy observation of the presidential institution and, generally speaking, of the choice made by 85 percent of this country's population at the 20 May 1990 ballot.

[Paduraru] What are your possible alliances?

[Vadim Tudor] It is premature to talk about alliances, about a fusion with the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], or about similarities and differences between Greater Romania and the PUNR, particularly since we are at the stage of working out our program. No doubt our roots are the same—I am particularly referring to the maximum lucidity with which both our groups are tackling the national problem. It is not our intention to duplicate an existing party, however, be it for territorial reasons alone—namely, PUNR covers Transylvania, while Greater Romania Party hopes to have a serious audience in other parts of the country, as well....

[Paduraru] What solution do you advocate to the danger pointed out by the party founders, a danger that they consider as very serious?

[Vadim Tudor] As far as we are concerned, we would suggest a more serious and substantial involvement by the Army in all facets of our social and economic life. I

do not believe that enough is known about the unprecedented crisis we are going through, a crisis that may also entail territorial aspects. Ion Antonescu [Romania's strongman during World War II] said in 1940 that the Army is the last card a nation can play. My opinion is that if things continue to unfold as before, the country will be on the verge of disaster, and radical measures will have to be taken to redress the situation.

Vatra Romaneasca Will Not Become Political Party

AU2405122691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1115 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/5/1991—"I think Romania's national cause is more important at present than its economic cause", Radu Ceontea, former chairman of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union, newly elected chairman of the Party of the National Union of the Romanians (PUNR), says in an interview with the daily "CURIERUL ROMANESC".

Referring to a recent poll by IRSOP, according to which eight percent of the electorate would vote with PUNR, (third after National Salvation Front and National Liberal Party), Radu Ceontea specified: "We shall take efforts to turn our party, represented now mainly in Transylvania, into a political party that covers the whole country".

The interviewee said that the "Vatra Romaneasca" union would not become a political party, although there were forces thirsty of power that wanted it, but that would be, the most terrible political fraud that could be imagined".

On another line [word indistinct] Radu Ceontea expressed his disagreement with the town of Tirgu Mures having been chosen the venue of the congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania. He added that Tirgu Mures was still "an open wound" after the last March inter-ethnic clashes.

Minister Dijmarescu on Government Reshuffle

AU2605142291 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 May 91 p 4

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report: "Sometimes One Has To Sacrifice One Man"]

[Text] Vienna—"Sometimes one has to sacrifice one man in order to save an entire country," Eugen Dijmarescu, Romania's economics and finance minister, categorically rejects the suspicion that Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu was made industrial minister during the latest government reshuffle in Romania at the end of April to establish a command economy. Stanculescu's predecessor was replaced because he did not understand macro-economics. The former defense minister, on the other hand, is a man "who speaks the same language as I do. This is a man who knows what must be done."

Dijmarescu, who is in Vienna at the invitation of the "International Economy Club," also categorically rejects speculations about differences in opinion between President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman about the speed with which the market economy is to be introduced. "This is one of the most well-known rumors." Neither Iliescu nor Roman determine these matters. "Economic policy is made by experts and in Parliament."

Romania has embarked upon the path toward market economy; however, "It is difficult to say where we stand at the moment," the minister admits. The summit has already been almost achieved in legislation; however, the implementation of the laws in everyday life is a problem. "This is a question of capability and mentality." Dijmarescu explains with an example how basic the problems are. Everyone knows how to use a credit card in the West, but "in our country, the people often hesitate to recognize something like this as a means of payment."

The economics minister is "surprised" about the "low interest" shown in Austria for investments in Romania. Austria "has always been very close to the East and knows the market better than anybody else." Austrians mainly want to sell their goods in Romania, "but they do not want to produce there," Dijmarescu says.

RMDSZ Tirgu Mures Congress Continues

LD2605050791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] The Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] may have an important role in the settling of the situation of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. Peter Szorenyi and Levente Suekoesd report on the congress in Tirgu Mures:

[Begin recording] [Szorenyi] Finally, the political bomb many people were expected has exploded, although not in Tirgu Mures, but in Bucharest, for Romanian television broadcast a more than half-an-hour-long interview with Gyoezoe Hajdu in the late evening hours. It should be known that he served the Ceaucescu regime until the last minute, to such an extent that he was voicing the official party line all the time. Because of this, people here do not generally like him. Now he claims that the RMDSZ is striving for exclusiveness. For this reason, he will launch a new cultural association in which he welcomes both Hungarians and Romanians. I note that the RMDSZ has Romanian members, even Romanian delegates.

[Suekoesd] Today the general debate that started yesterday continued. Laszlo Tokes spoke about reconciliation between nations again. This he presumably repeated because the Romanian guests and the Bucharest press misunderstood certain parts of his speech yesterday, allegedly because of an incorrect translation.

The congress continues to take place in the spirit of unity, although in the past few minutes many people took a stand in favor of the seperation of the political and the social parts. It does not seem possible, but anything can happen in politics. It is absolutely certain that there are two firm trends within the organization.

[Szorenyi] The Romanian Army should also be made democratic. In this the RMDSZ legislative deputies should take the initiative. The speaker, Gyorgy Pal Szabo, pointed out that the time for political platform freedom has not come yet. It is necessary to learn to think in the terms of a nation again. In fact, there are fewer police today guarding the venue of the congress, which might mean that the town continues to be calm. [end recording]

Hungarian Federation Leader Interviewed on Unity

LD2605051591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 May 91

[Interview with Karoly Kiraly, chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ), by Peter Szorenyi; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The RMDSZ is holding its second congress in Tirgu Mures. The RMDSZ is the country's second biggest political organization.

[Szorenyi] To what extent do you think Magyardom is politically unified?

[Kiraly] A community of more than 2 million people cannot be unified. It is unified regarding the RMDSZ, because the RMDSZ is, first and foremost, an ideal before the Magyardom in Transylvania.

[Szorenyi] Is it not strange that everyone from the communists to the Smallholders and Christian Democrats is in one organization? This is not a very common modern phenomenon in politics.

[Kiraly] It might not be a very modern thing, but our situation and the situation of Eastern Europe in general cannot be regarded as modern or civilized at all. Thus, this whole concept and our situation is somehow related to realistic policy. It would be nice if we were in the same ideal situation as the Western nations where all rights are guaranteed on the basis of civil and human rights, simply because one is a citizen of a country or a state.

[Szorenyi] What is your view on the fact that the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia are indifferent parties and they are not unified? The Coexistence Movement, the liberal Hungarian organization, and the Christian Democrats have been running at the elections seperately.

[Kiraly] In Czechoslovakia they did not dare to choose a brave way similar to that of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

[Szorenyi] Do you think the more daring way is that minorities, in our case the Magyardom, try to politicize, try to exist in a federation of this kind?

[Kiraly] That is right.

[Szorenyi] Do not you think that this shows an observer that there are Hungarian parties in Transylvania, while they do not really exist?

[Kiraly] It can be called a show, but it is an objective necessity, for chauvinist, nationalist, and antiminority pressure is still great. We also lag behind in the area of legislation. Thus it requires a lot more things, and plenty of time, for Magyardom to see its own interests ensured in legislation.

Tokes: Hungarians' Rights Undergoing 'Regress'

AU2405181691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/5/1991—Proceedings of the 2nd congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) started in Tirgu Mures on Friday.

The congress opened with writer Andras Suto reading an essay on unity, brotherhood and understanding among people who live in this country. His speech was an appeal to reason, maturity and efforts to find the best way to attain the objective of a good co-existence.

Pastor Laszlo Tokes, UDMR honorary president, appreciated in his address the Hungarian population's struggle for its cause, as well as the opposition's were undergoing a regress. Estimating "this is a hard time for the country," he said that "those who are afraid are in danger," adding "fear is what any dictatorship relies on."

The UDMR honorary president called on all Hungarians to unite and take a radical stand so as to obtain individual and collective rights. Speaking of the rights the Hungarian minority enjoyed at the moment, Mr. Tokes said the rights which had been gained after the revolution, though greater than before, were only crumbs tossed at them by the present rulers; therefore, he said, the fight must go on, through negotiations, through a dialogue between Transylvanian Hungarians and the lawful representatives of the Romanian state.

Opining that the changes which had occurred in Romania after the December revolution, both with regard to the country's democratization and to the condition of Hungarians living in Romania were only superficial, Pastor Tokes advised the participants to follow the example of the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle for their rights at the end of last century.

Prime Minister Continues Visit to Gulf States

Returns From UAE, 'Useful' Visit Viewed

AU2505184691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 25 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/5/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived in Bucharest on Saturday afternoon, back from his official trip to Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

On his arrival on Otopeni Airport, the premier made the following statement:

"I had very interesting, useful and fruitful talks, meant both to represent and promote Romanian interests in the Gulf and to make known the facilities Romania offers to foreign investors. In Kuwait we have immediately started discussions about our team, who was already there to put out burning oil wells, an operation of great importance and value, and about our participation in a large number of reconstruction projects in Kuwait, such as electricity generation, transport and distribution, water-supply and civil engineering. The Kuwaiti side also showed great interest in Romania's petrochemical industry.

"The Abu Dhabi and Dubai Emirates are making unbelievable progress. We have quite exceptional opportunities there to put to profit our technical and technological capacity in such fields as petrochemistry, chemistry, some sectors of mechanical engineering, as well as to attract investments in Romania, in agriculture, tourism and petrochemistry."

The president of the Romanian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Aurel Ghibutiu, and the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Dubai, Saeed Juma al Naboodah [spelling as received], signed Saturday, in the Emirate's capital city, an accord of collaboration between the two organizations.

The document stipulates the two chambers would promote business relations along the following lines: mutual information, exchange of data and information on each country's economic legislation; joint business promotion activities; mutual support of orientation and marketing missions of the other party, participation in fairs and exhibitions in the partner's country.

On the same day, Budget Minister Florin Bergea and the deputy minister of finance of the United Arab Emirates, Ahmad Bin-Humayyid al-Tayir, initialed the accord on mutual investment promotion and protection and the accord between the Romanian and UAE Governments on avoiding double taxation and preventing fiscal evasion in relation to taxes on income and capital.

Seeks Cooperation With GCC States

JN2805142991 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1005 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Doha, 28 May (WAKH)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman has said his country seeks to promote relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states at all levels.

He expressed the hope that diplomatic ties with all the GCC states will be established in the near future. He referred to Romania's position during the Gulf crisis, which directly helped draft and pass all Security Council resolutions.

Mr. Roman said economic cooperation with the GCC is currently confined to the oil and petrochemical industry, construction, tourism, and capital investment.

In a statement to the Qatari AL-RAYAH newspaper published today, Roman expressed his country's support for a peace conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict justly and permanently, with the participation of the concerned countries, the big powers, and the United Nations.

The Romanian prime minister expressed his country's readiness to join international efforts, in a manner acceptable to the concerned parties, to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr. Roman stressed that his country will overcome the problems facing its accelerating transformation to democracy and its adoption of a market economy to liberate Romania's economy and establish a society of pluralism and law.

It should be noted that in its capacity as a Security Council member, Romania played an effective role in the adoption of all the Security Council resolutions that condemned Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and which resulted in the restoration of legitimate sovereignty to the country.

Foreign Minister Nastase Meets Officials in Iran

AU2805133791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1237 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Tehran (ROMPRES) 28/5/1991—Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase, now on a visit to Tehran, had a first round of talks with his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati when stress was laid on both governments' wish to develop bilateral relations. Measures were surveyed meant to stimulate political dialogue at various levels, intensify commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, expand cooperation in culture, science, education, back contacts between representatives of the two countries.

Special importance was attached to developments in Europe, in the eastern part of the continent in particular, and to the situation in the Gulf in consideration of Iran's important stand and role in the settlement of the problems concerning cooperation and security in the area.

The Romanian minister met then Mas'ud Rowghani-Zanjani, vice- president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, head of the planning and budget office, representative of Iran to the joint commission of economic cooperation. During the talks the two sides placed emphasis on economic cooperation by making the best of the complementarity of Romania and Iran's economies. They also discussed tangible projects concerning the import of oil and the refining of Iranian oil in Romania, cooperation in oil drilling and refining technologies and Romania's participation in the building of the Iran-Europe natural gas pipeline.

Markovic Survives No-Confidence Proposal

LD2805155191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 28 May 91

[Dusko Mandic report from the SFRY Assembly; date not given]

Ante Markovic continues to be the Federal Executive Council president; hence, his government is coming out of the current crisis intact. Serbia's attempts to topple him through a Vojvodina proposal on the vote of no-confidence fell through dramatically even within the Serbian delegation itself. Opposition delegates from that republic, for instance, Dragoljub Micunovic, announced that they were supporting the Federal Government and its reform program. Their demands for clarification regarding the implementation of the reform program are just routine questions.

Batric Jovanovic, Radovan Bozovic, and nine other delegates were of a different view. After seeing their isolation following the voting, they were green with disappointment.

It should be said that the chairman, Miran Mejak, wanted to postpone voting, but Ante Markovic energetically rejected this, demanding that voting take place right away.

All other delegates voted for Prime Minister Markovic and his European policy and reforms in the country. When the chairman announced that the Vojvodina proposal fell through, tumultuous applause broke out for the smiling and satisfied prime minister, who stood up and applauded in return.

The session was then adjourned. Delegates hurried to congratulate Markovic. He was surrounded by friends, so journalists had difficulty getting through to him.

Markovic, who was obviously in a good mood, stated he had nothing to say. You have seen everything for yourselves.

Aleksandar Mitrovic, Federal Executive Council Vice President, said that they were absolutely sure of today's positive decision of the chamber of republics and provinces. The position of Prime Minister Markovic and his cabinet is now strengthened.

Republic Governments Reach Free Trade Accord

LD2805095791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0444 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—The governments of the Yugoslav republics have stated they would abolish all legislation disturbing the free flow of goods and services and preventing the functioning of a unified Yugoslav market.

The accord on this was reached on Monday in Belgrade by the republican premiers at a meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, the Yugoslav government announced.

The republican premiers also said the money from the custom duties will, as proposed by law, be paid into the federal budget as of Tuesday. The republics began withholding the money for their own needs.

[Words indistinct] the federal government has announced it will as of Tuesday apply a special decision on the custom duties, i.e., unless the republics held on to the reached accord, the decision would be applied.

The republics introduced the legislation impeding free flow of goods from the other republics on their territories in the course of last year.

At the meeting on Monday, as set out in the announcement, the republican governments opted for an open market and "eliminating all obstacles in the way of free circulation of goods, services and capital."

The republican premiers said the abolishment of amendments to the laws impairing the unity of the Yugoslav market will be presented to the parliaments by June 1 this year.

Free Trade Agreement Detailed

LD2705180191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—An agreement on the unhindered functioning of the market of goods and services in Yugoslavia was reached at a meeting today between the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and presidents of republican governments, i.e. republican executive councils. The agreement reads:

1. Governments—i.e. executive councils—of republics and the FEC opted for the policy of open market and the lifting of all barriers to the free and unhindered flow of goods and services—i.e. commodity and monetary movement in all parts of Yugoslavia—within the common Yugoslav market.

2. Governments—i.e. executive councils—of republics will proclaim invalid their regulations adopted on the basis of republican laws which have disrupted the free flow of goods and services and thus made the common Yugoslav market unable to function.

In this connection, governments—i.e. executive councils of republics—will initiate changes and additions to the relevant republican legal documents which have caused the disruption of the common Yugoslav market, thereby carrying out the relevant decisions of the constitutional court of Yugoslavia.

3. All prime ministers are taking over the responsibility to insure that their governments—i.e. executive councils—adopt decisions within their competence to implement this agreement, i.e. to propose changes and additions to the laws adopted by their assemblies, if necessary, with effect from 1 June 1991, the FEC Information Secretariat has reported.

An agreement was reached at the meeting that the Federal Customs Administration should instruct its branches not to implement the FEC decision on the collection of customs and other import duties (which should come into force on 28 May this year), because all presidents and representatives of republican governments have promised that, as from tomorrow, they will no longer appropriate customs revenue, i.e. that they will pay it into the federal budget. If all republics abide by today's agreement, the FEC decision on the collection of customs will be proclaimed invalid.

Croatia's Mesic Foresees Peaceful Breakup

AU2705133691 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 May 91 pp 142-144

[Interview with Stipe Mesic, president-designate of the SFRY Presidency, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Keep on Beating!"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Mesic, Yugoslavia does not have a president....

[Mesic] You are quite wrong. The Yugoslav president is sitting in front of you!

[DER SPIEGEL] Even if the Constitutional Court were to decide that the president has to be elected and cannot be appointed?

[Mesic] This should not be decided by the Constitutional Court but by a committee of the Federal Assembly. That is as if the guild of chimney sweeps were to discuss this issue. We in Croatia can interpret the Constitution ourselves. According to this Constitution, I am president.

[DER SPIEGEL] Well, four members of the Federal Presidency are interpreting the Constitution differently and rejected you.

[Mesic] Those who blocked the Presidency should now think about how they can lift the blockade again. Otherwise, Yugoslavia will crumble or dissolve—whatever you prefer.

[DER SPIEGEL] President Borislav Jovic justified your nonelection by saying that you want to destroy Yugoslavia. You are a traitor because you think foreign intervention in Yugoslavia is conceivable.

[Mesic] This is slander. I only said: During my term of office a solution for the future Yugoslavia will be found. Why should we not ask for intervention from outside if somebody tried to force his ideas of a future Yugoslavia on the others, regardless of whether this be a federation or a confederation?

[DER SPIEGEL] What does the Army say about that?

[Mesic] I am not interested in that. I told the defense minister that the Federal Presidency with me at the head is the supreme commander of the Army. Neither a state of war nor any other kind of operation order for the Army in conflicts between the nationalities can be issued directly by the army leadership or its commanders. This is a good thing. You see, there are no longer any problems.

[DER SPIEGEL] Even if the Federal Presidency came to an agreement, as of 26 June you will be without Slovenia's vote because the republic plans to leave the federal state as of then. Then you will be regularly outvoted by the Serbian bloc.

[Mesic] No one will leave. Not even Slovenia. Where should they go? If someone leaves it will perhaps be the Serbs and Montenegrins, who insist on the continued existence of the federation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does this mean that Slovenia has backed down?

[Mesic] The quality of this process has changed. Croatia and Slovenia have decided for an alliance of sovereign states in their referendums. The secession cannot take place immediately. This is a longer process. The state must continue to function until a final agreement has been reached with the other republics. After all, we do not want to knock on the doors of the other European states and ask who will recognize us and who will not.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will really happen on this ominous 26 June?

[Mesic] An interim balance sheet, a list, will be drawn up. Who owes what to whom? Who will take over which debts? When day X will come will be decided by all together, and not with war cries but in a peaceful atmosphere.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why is the continued existence of the federation so unacceptable for Croatia?

[Mesic] Because for the Serbs the so-called "modern" federation is only an excuse to continue being lazy in a modern way at the costs of the others. They have destroyed the financial system, they have put up customs barriers between the republics, they have confiscated Croatian companies in Serbia. No, thank you! What was it that the Serbian leader Milosevic said recently. If we Serbs are not able to produce anything, we are at least able to beat each other up. My advice: Keep on beating and preserving the federation!

[DER SPIEGEL] In Serbia, the government and opposition are pulling in the same direction concerning nationalism and threaten Croatia with war if it secedes.

[Mesic] This will never happen. Who should wage war against whom?

[DER SPIEGEL] The Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA is already warning against comparing the Yugoslav Army with the defeated Iraqi Army.

[Mesic] There is a proverb: Never threaten with your strength if you do not want to meet someone who is even stronger.

[DER SPIEGEL] You called the staging of your election defeat a trick by your predecessor, Jovic, the Serb.

[Mesic] It was not the trick of Jovic but that of Milosevic. Jovic is only an instrument. Since I have been in the Federal Presidency, I have never heard Mr. Jovic state his own opinion—I only hear from him what Mr. Milosevic thinks.

[DER SPIEGEL] What does Mr. Milosevic think?

[Mesic] He thought that by appointing three new representatives in the Presidency he would also be able push through the election of the vice president—a Montenegrin, who naturally acts only at Milosevic's order. Then this so-called vice president would have headed the Presidency until the new president was elected—and one would have taken much time to do so. This plan failed.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will happen now?

[Mesic] Now Milosevic wants to overthrow the government—with the help of a motion for a vote of no-confidence by Vojvodina.

He never does the dirty work himself. Hitler did not attack anybody directly, either, he only defended people—the Sudeten Germans, the Danube Swabians—just as Mr. Molosevic now "defends" 3 million Serbs outside Serbia. If the Federal Presidency and the government are blocked, he hopes to have an easy game with the Army.

[DER SPIEGEL] To establish Greater Serbia?

[Mesic] Of course. His appetite is unappeasable. He swallowed the provinces, now he wants Knin and the Serbs in Bosnia. This would be the same as if Germany now annexed Austria and the Swiss cantons. The future of Europe is open borders and not Chinese walls, as Serbia wants.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you not grant political autonomy to the area around the Croatian town of Knin, which is inhabited by Serbs?

[Mesic] This would be idiotic. Fifteen percent of the Serbs in Croatia live in the Krajina of Knin. What should the other 85 percent do? Zagreb has more Serbs than all of the Krajina. Should we declare every street where Serbs live an autonomous province?

[DER SPIEGEL] How else do you want to solve the problem?

[Mesic] By political means. Europe must finally adopt a stance and state that not only the state borders but also the republic borders in Yugoslavia are inviolable. This would discourage all militant elements of Knin.

[DER SPIEGEL] The United States intends to impose an economic blockade on Yugoslavia.

[Mesic] This is a biting injustice. The consequences will also be felt by those who respect human rights and who observe democratic principles in their republics. The punishment should have been selective.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, the world is to blame for your problems?

[Mesic] As long as the West believes that this witch's cauldron here and the current federative model must be preserved, Serbia is supported. Only if Serbia is seriously warned by the international community to stop its exercises in violence, we will have a chance to become a peaceful oasis in the Balkans.

Officials Claim Army Planned To Provoke Incident

LD2705115391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 May (TANJUG)—"The idea of taking measures against Slovenia and provoking an incident in Maribor was formulated by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] Chief of the General Staff Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic"—this is the claim set out in a public statement of a coordination group of Slovenia's republican services, signed by the ministers of defense and internal affairs, Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar.

"The instructions were dispatched on 16 May this year to some command centres of the JNA units in Slovenia. The operational plan of measures was drawn up the JNA security Service under the guidance of Colonel Emin Malkoc from the 14th (Ljubljana) Corps and Lieutenant-Colonel Ratko Katalina from the 31st (Maribor) Corps," the statement cites.

It also claims that "the operation was also carried out by some top-ranking JNA officers who arrived from Belgrade shortly before the operation. The officer in charge was Major-General Mico Delic, the commander of the 31st Corps. He needed the authorization of the Yugoslav Army chief of the General Staff for every measure."

"The operation was being carried out beyond the command chain of the 5th Military District, which was informed about the actions only at a later stage. From the outset of the talks in Maribor, there were attempts to prolong them so a representative of the republican leadership could have taken part in them, whereupon he would have been, as it is claimed, kidnapped and indicted, through the military judiciary which is directly subordinated to the Yugoslav Army General Staff, of disrespecting federal legislation," the statement says.

The statement of the coordination group of Slovenia's republican services, which examined the circumstances surrounding the Maribor incident, also says that "a number of special-purpose JNA units, comprising professional soldiers—that is, a number of single- nationality units from Serbia—arrived in Maribor on the eve of the operation."

"All these units are still in Maribor. Equally, in Slovenia's barracks there are still some small reserve units of the Yugoslav Army transferred from Serbia, despite the promise of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense delegation of 21 May 1991 that they would be demobilized," the statement cites.

"In the wake of the countermeasures taken and the resistance put up by the Territorial Defense Center of Pekra, as well as the resolute protest of the citizens of Maribor and the international public's sharp criticism, the Yugoslav Army General Staff ordered at 1600 on 25 May 1991 that further offensive activities be halted, as it demanded of the units that had taken part in the operation to supply a detailed analysis."

The statement also says that "the command body of the 31st Corps was of the opinion that it was pointless to deal with local issues, that the republican leadership should rather be neutralized by resolute action of the special units."

A special unit of military police was trained with a view to this aim. The strategic aim of the whole operation was, had it been carried out in full, to blockade Slovenia's international borders and to obstruct other activities and the continuation of the process of Slovene independence. At the same time, according to the plans, Slovenia would have demanded the Yugoslav Presidency's intervention. The statement says that Serbia would have conditioned its approval to convene a session by suggesting that the representative of the Republic of Slovenia in the Yugoslav Presidency give his consent to the appointment of Serbian representative from Kosovo Sejdo Bajramovic as coordinator of the Yugoslav Presidency so he would have been granted some presidential powers, the statement says.

The representatives of the coordination group cite that "within the framework of the project of enabling the Republic of Slovenia to go independent, its authorities have already carried out the defense and security preparations needed for the protection of the Republic of Slovenia on its way to independence and devolution. The most crucial conditions for this protection have been considerably improved these days; various countermeasures have been perfected at various levels which will be brought in effect by the Republic of Slovenia in the event of direct threats being aimed at the Slovene state's process of independence and sovereignty or the security of its citizens. The commanding bodies and units of the territorial defense of the Republic of Slovenia and the internal affairs units have been trained and are ready to operate in cooperation with home defense and other factors," the public is being told.

"The latest events in Maribor, Ptuj, and elsewhere in Slovenia show that it is the Yugoslav Peoples' Army that is exacerbating the present situation, and that it does not respect any legal rules—not even international ones. To achieve its goals it does not refrain from the most uncivilized means. Hence the coordination group calls on the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia to be cautious in contact with JNA officers, and to differentiate between them, because a large number of them do not agree with the policy of the Army top brass"—the statement claims.

"The coordination group will also shortly publish a list of those members of the Yugoslav Army, and above all its security service, who are most prominent in the illegal actions against the civilian government and citizens of the Republic of Slovenia."

The statement says that "the coordination group has been informed that the competent authorities of the Republic of Slovenia have submitted, or prepared, criminal charges against certain officers of the 31st Corps, including Major General Mico Delic, Colonel Alojz Lipnik, and Lieutenant Colonel Ratko Katalina on the substantiated grounds that they committed the criminal act of illegal arrest under Article 189 of the SFRY Criminal Law; the criminal act of abuse of international insignia under Article 153/1 of the SFRY Criminal Law relating to Article 32 of the same law; and the criminal act of violation of the inviolability of private apartments and illegal searching, and so on. Also, the competent authorities are gathering information for bringing criminal charges against the perpetrators of the criminal acts of shooting at civilians in Ptuj, the murder and injuring of civilians in front of the barracks in Maribor, and the illegal arrest of two civilians in Ratece," the statement says.

"The coordination group warns that despite the present defusing of the situation, the renewed exacerbation of the situation can be expected this week. This conclusion is drawn on the basis, among other information, of the fact that on 26 May, at 1918 a military transport plane landed at Brnik airport with a special unit, which has been stationed in one of the Ljubljana barracks," the public says.

Maribor Officials File Charges Against Military

LD2705170791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Maribor, 27 May (TANJUG)—Maribor internal affairs bodies filed criminal charges with the Zagreb military prosecutor's office against the commander of the Maribor Yugoslav People's Army Corps, Major General Mica Delic, on—as stated—substantiated grounds that he had committed the criminal act of unlawful arrest under Article 189 of the SFRY penal

code. The head of the internal affairs department of the Maribor City Counil, Joze Majer, revealed this today.

According to Majer, the Maribor internal affairs bodies filed criminal charges with this prosecutor's office also against as yet unidentified perpetrators charged with committing the criminal act of abusing international signs under Article 153 of the SFRY penal code, and other criminal acts.

The head of the internal affairs department of the Maribor City Council, Joze Majer, announced that the Maribor internal affairs bodies will tomorrow file charges with the Maribor basic prosecutor's office against individuals under suspicion of being culprits in the accident in front of the Vojvoda Misic garrison on 24 May, when a person lost his life, and in the 25 May accident, when a person was seriously injured.

Call For Army Withdrawal

LD2705213691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Maribor, 27 May (TANJUG)—We are calling on the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to coordinate all movements outside its barracks with civilian authorities in the city [of Maribor] so further conflicts may be avoided. This is, among other things, stressed in a memorandum on "Maribor Events" which was adopted at a joint session today of the presidency of the city assembly, representatives of the city executive council, and the chairmen of all legislative parties in Maribor.

We hold that to ease the tension it would be best if the JNA units withdrew from Slovenia as soon as possible, because the JNA has not provided any guarantees so far that it is able to adjust itself to the complex conditions of Slovenia's dissociation and gaining its independence, the memorandum says.

Fifth Military District Assails Slovene Statement

LD2805164891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—Regarding a statement for the public about the Maribor events issued by a coordination group of the Slovene bodies, the 5th Military District command today issued a statement saying:

The claim that the action of Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units was carried out without the knowledge of the 5th Military District command is untrue and utterly tendentious. Because the Army command system is strictly based on the principle of subordination, which the mentioned coordination group knew of, the command of the 5th Military District—in line with a decision of its superior command—was directly in charge of the action and commanded the units deployed in Maribor. With a view to peacefully resolving this incident, the most responsible officers of the 5th Military District took part in talks with representatives of bodies of the Slovene government and the Maribor city authority.

Because of all this, today's statement of the command of the 5th Military District concludes, we see the statement of the working group as yet another attempt to cause rifts among the JNA leadership and units. No one, not even some coordination group in Slovenia, will succeed in this.

Four Army Vehicles 'Forcibly Seized' in Slovenia

LD2805180891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—The information service of the 5th Military District gave the following statement to the public this afternoon: On 27 May this year, at around 2200, four combat vehicles of the BOV type, owned by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and under the protection of territorial defense units, were forcibly seized at gunpoint from the TAM car factory in Maribor."

"The latest incident in Maribor," the statement continues, "clearly reflects the behavior of the Republican Secretariat for National Defense of the Republic of Slovenia and its attitude towards the JNA. This is concrete proof that the services of the Republic of Slovenia are working on exacerbating relations with the JNA and within society."

In connection with the present case, the command of the 5th Military District has sent a demand to the Slovene Executive Council "that the seized vehicles be returned to the car factory in Maribor by 1900 on 28 May at the latest."

The statement concludes that "the Slovene Executive Council will bear the responsibility for the possible consequences after the expiry of this deadline."

Slovenia Storing Food Items In Case of Blockade

AU2805163691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 May 91

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] It was announced today that in preparation for its independence, Slovenia has put aside large quantities of food and other items. Despite this, it is Slovenia's wish to preserve the flow of goods on the Yugoslav market, because an interruption of this flow, be it short-term or long-term, would affect the Slovene economy.

[Atanasijevic] According to Maks Basti, republican minister for market and general economic questions, Slovenia has taken steps to fill its warehouses in time. The quantities of wheat and flour will last one year, sugar for several months. The reserves of (?edible oil), rice, medicines, and soap powder are also considerable. If after the republic becomes independent, a blockade is imposed by other parts of the country, goods will be imported. In this respect, foreign exchange priorities have been set, which include oil and oil derivatives. These measures, Minister Basti points out, are planned taking into account the

so-called worst variant. However, he added, one can realistically expect the flow of goods in Yugoslavia not to be interrupted, because this is not in the interest of other parts of the country either. In any case, Slovenia will try to keep economic links with other republics, because it would otherwise have great problems, both short-term and long-term ones. This is why Slovene enterprises have been advised to continue cooperation with their partners, taking into consideration their capability to pay debts, as well as the appearance of Slovene money and exchange rates. Slovenia will offer its idea on the free flow of goods to other republics. Talks about the issue, which are going to be held soon, will show how the other parts of the country will react to this.

Institutes 'Preventive Measures'

LD2805223591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 May (TANJUG)—Through the relevant republican services, preventive measures have been undertaken in Slovenia "to prevent possible complications and incidents," it is stressed in the latest statement from the coordinating group of the republican authorities of Slovenia. Such measures include restricted access to official premises of certain entities and enterprises by active military personnel. The relevant officials have also asked enterprises with special purpose production to temporarily halt all deliveries of arms and military equipment to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA].

The statement stresses that such preventative measures take into account the fact that the armaments and the military equipment produced in Slovene enterprises are being used in the most violent attacks by some JNA units against civilians.

The coordinating group also says that in the last few days the workers of the Maribor car factory informed republican officials that their enterprise is producing a large number of armored personnel carriers. They demand that "the carriers are not to be delivered to those who terrorize the citizens of Maribor." The coordinating group claims that some callers to the republican services have threatened to sabotage the production of carriers.

Slovene Leaders Visit Macedonia 'Unannounced'

LD2805220291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Skopje, May 28 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Presidency President Milan Kucan and Slovenian representative in the Yugoslav State Presidency Janez Drnovsek this afternoon arrived on an unannounced visit to Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia.

This morning, Kucan and Drnovsek visited Sarajevo the capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Prior to his departure from Skopje, Kucan said that the aim of the visits was to discuss possibilities of implementing Slovenia's decision on dissociation from Yugoslavia which comes into effect on June 26.

Kucan said that Slovenia does not want to leave Yugoslavia without reaching, at least in principle, an agreement on its obligations and rights arising from being a part of Yugoslavia.

Kucan and Drnovsek visited Sarajevo and Skopje on the eve of the continuation of the session of the State Predidency, which was to have been held in Belgrade today, but was postponed for tomorrow.

Mesic Says Army 'Unlikely' To Get Involved

LD2705190291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 27 May (TANJUG)—Speaking in Krasic today at a ceremony marking the Croatian statehood day, Stipe Mesic, announced as the president of the SFRY Presidency—said that "the Army has no chance." He then went on to explain that "efforts are being made to topple the Federal Government, to pass a vote of no confidence in Markovic, so the work of the second highest Yugoslav institution is blocked, and, thus, only the third solution and the third institution—the Army—is left. Judging by the reactions of the military leadership, it can be said that this will not materialize. So far, it is quite unlikely that the Army will get involved..."

Manolic Says Croatia To Proclaim Independence

LD2805143691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—It is difficult to predict how long the process of dissociation of the Yugoslav republics will last, but it could be completed in a few months time, Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic said at today's news conference.

"In this part of Europe, there can be only six sovereign republics, which will forge mutual links in suitable areas and to the appropriate extent and intensity. So, no common constitutional solution can grant sovereignty to republics," Manolic said. He voiced his conviction that the federation and the Federal Executive Council can in a short time draw up a dissociation balance sheet that will determine rights and duties of individual republics that were part of Yugoslavia. Manolic called this "the process of dissociation and settling of accounts."

"Each sovereign republic must settle the issue of its borders, which is essential for the functioning of state," Manolic said, revealing some details from recent talks between representatives of the Croatian and Slovene governments. Manolic announced that Croatia will proclaim its independence immediately, as Slovenia has done the same. Issues of mutual borders, monetary

systems, economic, and other links are being discussed at several levels in contacts between representatives of the two republics.

Regarding the problem of "the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina," Manolic assessed that it does not exist, but "there are only terroristic groups with which the regime will deal in ways in which the international community deals with terrorists."

Manolic spoke at length on activites by the Slovene and Croatian leadership on their affirmation on the international scene. He expressed conviction that these republics will receive support from international institutions and on the bilateral plane at the moment of proclaiming independence.

Croatian Guard Pledges To Defend 'Homeland'

LD2805200391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1758 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—Today at the Zagreb Football Club stadium, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, accompanied by Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj and Minister of Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac, made a formal inspection of the Croatian National Guard Corps. A combined unit of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], a National Guard brigade, a "Blue Berets" brigade, a Navy brigade, and a unit of the reserve force of the National Guard were lined at the stadium adorned with flags. More than 1,000 members of these units, armed mainly with automatic rifles, were there, together with four M18 armored transporters and helicopters, antiaircraft weapons, hand grenades, trucks and other combat equipment.

After the Croatian national anthem was played and reports were made to President Tudjman, and following the inspection of the units, members of the National Guard took a formal oath. In it, they "pledge to protect and defend our homeland Croatia, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and all its citizens, even if we have to sacrifice our lives."

Following this, Croatian President Tudjman handed over flags to the units.

Talking at the gathering, Tudjman first stressed that this was a historical day for the Croatian Republic, because only a year since democracy won, its defense units have been formed. Each state must take care of internal affairs, forces and armed forces for the defense of its sovereignty. We have shown to be a peace-loving nation, but also that we are aware that we must form a force on which we can rely against those who would want to violate Croatia's sovereignty, Tudjman said.

For the first time in recent history, you are national guardsmen and national policemen. Until recently, the people in the same or similar uniforms were hated by the Croatian people because of the authorities under whom they served. You are a branch of the Croatian people, and an offshoot of Croatian democracy, Tudjman told the members of the National Guard Corps units.

The Croatian leadership is trying to operate by democratic means, but "we know that you, as indeed the entire Croatian people, will rise as one man should anyone attack Croatia," stressed Tudjman. He went on to explain that police forces in Croatia had been raised to a higher level with the formation of the National Guard and that this had been done on the basis of the experience of some other countries.

"You are under a military command, and part of a military set-up. You also constitute the beginning of the future Croatian Army," Tudjman said stressing that Croatia was not arming to conquer someone else's territories, but to defend the freedom of Croatia. Every country must have its armed forces, because they are an "essential factor in the sovereignty and existence of a state and nation," Tudjman concluded.

Stipe Mesic, Zarko Domljan, Josip Manolic, and other prominent Croatian republic leaders were present at the function in the Zagreb Football Club stadium.

Spegelj Discusses National Guards Corps Tasks

LD2905091491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0625 GMT 29 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 29 May (TANJUG)—Croatia has shown that it has sufficient forces to defend its sovereignty, Croatian Defense Minister General Martin Spegelj told Croatian television's "In Focus" program. Speaking about the National Guards Corps, after this armed formation of the republic of Croatia was publicly promoted and had taken an oath at a Zagreb soccer stadium, Spegelj said that they were not formed overnight, but it took a long timme to build them up. They were formed in three educational centers, created in the "heart of the police," armed with defense weapons; therefore, it is obvious that Croatia does not wish to endanger anybody.

Prompted by television viewers, Spegelj said that units that participated in the stadium function were only representatives of complete units. He refused to reply to a question on the number of members serving in the Croatian armed formations but said that more than 1 million citizens of all ages had joined the unarmed units of people's protection.

Spegelj said that the National Guard Corps had "an officer cadre that was educated in very high educational institutions, including a war school." He also said that Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] officers and reserve officers were "welcome to join the National Guards Corps." Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac, who also participated in the program, added that they should first "sort out their relations with the JNA."

Spegelj avoided a question on whether, in case of an armed conflict, Croatia would receive help from

NATO's rapid deployment forces. Asked whether Croatia will establish its sovereignty in Knin, Spegelj said: "We will be present wherever the Croatian territory stretches," and added "at all costs."

Speaking about the JNA position, Spegelj noted that "the majority of people in the Army are reasonable." He said that he did not expect a conflict between Croatia, Slovenia, and the Army to happen, but rather an increase in the number of terrorist actions.

Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar, Slovene ministers of defense and internal affairs, should have participated in the program, but they cancelled their arrival at the last moment because of "the situation in Slovenia."

Croatia Wants Alliance of Sovereign States

LD2905081491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0736 GMT 29 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 29 May (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent state guaranteeing cultural autonomy and all civil rights to the Serbs and members of all other nationalities in Croatia, can join an alliance of sovereign states with other republics. The Republic of Croatia will not stay in Yugoslavia as a united federal state.

These two sentences are the full text of a decision signed by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on 23 May that was published in NARODNE NOVINE, the official gazette of the Republic of Croatia, on 27 May and was sent to its subscribers today.

President Tudjman reached the decision on the basis of Article 98, Paragraph 2 of the Croatian Constitution and Article 29 of the Referendum Law. It is based on results of a 19 May Croatian referendum.

The decision is expected to be announced at the Croatian Assembly session now under way.

New Democracy Calls For Jovic's Replacement

AU2805103691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] New Democracy-Movement for Serbia has sent an initiative to the Serbian Assembly for the recall and replacement of Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency. With his election as leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Jovic will primarily represent the political program of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the state leadership.

New Democracy assesses that in his work so far in the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic has taken many dissonant actions that are incompatible with each other, which have distorted the picture of democracy in Serbia, and which have contributed to the republic being seen in a negative light in the international public.

Bosnian Presidency Condemns Arms Shipments

LD2705195691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 May 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency stresses that the present political and security situation is extremely serious and expresses its resolve to use all means of a rule of law state at its disposal to protect Bosnia-Hercegovina's integrity and the peaceful life, legal and property safety of its citizens.

This, among other things, is stressed in a public statement from a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency that was held today after an illegal transport of weapons on the Niksic-Ljubinje road had taken place.

The Presidency, the statement goes on to say, will not hesitate to call on the federal bodies to provide help and support, primarily on the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and even on the Yugoslav People's Army, if necessary, to overcome the situation that it is facing now.

Minister on Federal Budget, IMF Agreements

LD2805164291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—Federal Minister of Finance Branko Zekan stated today that Yugoslavia could in several weeks conclude a stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in case the republics adopted the draft federal budget for this year.

Zekan was speaking in the bicameral Yugoslav parliaments's chamber of the Republics and Provinces where deputies were considering the steps of economic policy for this year on the basis of a recent speech by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and former President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Borisav Jovic.

Having stressed that the federal budget for this year was proposed at 138 billion dinars (10.6 billion Deutsche Marks), Zekan said that this was in nominal terms 41 percent above the last year's volume of the state treasury.

Some republics, in Zekan's words, hold that the Yugoslav Army alone should be financed out of the federal budget and appreciably less than so far, just as the federal administration, while other republics advocate that other needs should also be financed out of the state treasury.

In recalling that it was "thanks to the reforms that Yugoslavia has succeeded in cutting down the number of outstanding questions concerning the IMF," Zekan mentioned that "there has been no incursions into the monetary system any longer," that the "consumption is nearing the planned proportions" and that "it is merely necessary to adopt the budget."

Daily Compares National, USSR Situation

LD2805220191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1113 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 28 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today that "Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are in an identical position."

The daily, published in the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, points out that inter-ethnic/republican relations have been antagonized in both countries and that issues which will considerably affect the two countries' future have emerged in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union after a several-decade party embargo on questions concerning republican independence.

The daily maintains that "the future does not look too bright for either Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union."

It writes that the Soviet Union is about to form a loose federation, which has "proved a failure in Yugoslavia since 1974."

"The Soviet Union's historic turnabout must not be achieved by a compromise which, even if aimed at calming inter-ethnic antagonisms, would only prolong the agony," the daily concludes.

Israeli Foreign Ministry Official Arrives

LD2805125291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—Deputy Secretary-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry Yosef Govrin arrived in Belgrade on Tuesday on a two-day working visit to Yugoslavia.

Govrin is the highest ranking Israeli Foreign Ministry official to stay in Belgrade since 1967, when Yugoslavia broke off diplomatic relations with Israel.

Govrin's arrival is the continuation of consultations between the Yugoslav and Israeli diplomacy launched a year ago when ambassador at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Milan Zuhan visited Israel.

Govrin's talks with Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Branko Lukovac and head of the Department for the Middle East and Northern Africa Dusan Simeunovic are to begin on Wednesday. As expected the talks will chiefly dwell on the Middle Eastern peace process and bilateral relations.

As regards the Middle Eastern peace process, the latest initiative of U.S. State Secretary James Baker on holding a peace conference for the resolution of the crisis in the entire region and the palestinian question will at the center of the discussions.

So far the Israelis have been disinclined to accept such a conference. (?Instead) they prefer direct Israeli-Arab talks, something Arabs, for their part, find unacceptable.

As expected, after the first round of talks on Wednesday the Israeli high official is to be received by Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.